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PAURĀṆIC TRADITION—IS IT VEDIC?

By Prof. Dr. Viman Chandra Bhattacharyya

The importance of the Purāṇas for a correct and comprehensive understanding of ancient Indian history is first emphasised by Pargiter[1] towards the beginning of the twentieth century. Before him, reputed scholars no doubt entered the field of Paurāṇic studies but they were hardly able to disintegrate the Purāṇas from the network of mythology with which they are interwoven. Wilson, generally regarded as the pioneer in this field, goes so far as to say that 'the Purāṇas are only pious frauds written in subservience to sectarian imposture'. Goldstucker speaks of the Purāṇas most deridingly and makes them responsible for the degeneracy of Hinduism[2]. Of late, a systematic study of the Purāṇas is being continued by Hazra but he is mostly concerned with Smṛti-materials[3] as Pargiter was with Polito-historical data in them. When Goldstucker says that the religious depravity of the Hindus is due to the acceptance of

[1] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, (London, 1922).

[2] "All barriers to religious imposition having broken down since the modern Purāṇas were received by the masses as the source of their faith, sects have sprung up which not merely endanger religion, but society itself; tenets have been propounded, which are an insult to the human mind; practices have been indroduced, which must fill every true Hindu with confusion and shame."—*Inspired Writings of Hinduism.* p. 108.

[3] See his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records of Hindu Rites and Customs.*

the Purāṇas as the source of their faith, and that it can be checked only by an admission of the masses to the *Ṛgveda*[4], it is obvious that the role of Vedic heritage in the Purāṇas escapes his serious attention and that he forgets that the Hindu word Dharma being of protean import far surpasses its English counterpart in connotation; that the history of Hinduism is the chequered history of a steady absorption and subtle unification of heterogeneous thoughts and beliefs through a long stretch of time and that, last but not the least, 'a living society must have both the power of continuity and power of change'[5]. The present paper proposes to give a sketch of the vestiges of Vedic influence on the Purāṇa literature.

We must remember that Dharma always supplies one of the main motives of literature. It is so in all countries and especially in India which is pre-eminently a land of Dharma. If, as Radhakrishnan says, 'religion signifies faith in absolute values and a way of life to realise them';[6] the Vedic literature is undoubtedly religious in character. Being surrounded by a halo of sanctity round their tradition Vedic civilization and culture were urged forward by the momentum of their values and concepts expressing themselves, in every age, through different literary forms, absorbing and welding together discordant faiths and beliefs by power of intrinsic cultural cohesiveness. The later streams of literature in India, therefore, are only so many tributaries of the Vedas—their perennial source of vitality. An analytical study of the Purāṇas shows that the religious background with which the society of the Purāṇa-period is bound up, has a character of its own. The Dharma of the

[4] *Inspired Writings of Hinduism*, p. 108-9.

[5] Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 113; Radhakrishnan defines a 'Hindu' thus : 'A Hindu, for our purposes, is one who adopts in his life and conduct any of the religious traditions developed in India on the basis of the Vedas'—*ibid.*, p. 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Purāṇa-period is the outcome of the conflict and compact of powerful and diverse motivations, of clash of cult and contact of cultures, and grows out of the impact of varied ideas, customs and characteristics of different sections, sometimes also of different ethinical groups, of people and their interplay upon one another. The changes that emerge as a result are steady and gradual and perhaps scarcely visible at the start. But the result is the new social pattern reflected in the Purāṇas which though resembling Vedic society in many ways, bears a stamp of character that is peculiarly its own.

The history of the journey of Indian religion and culture has been the history of a continuous adjustment and fusion where each succeeding phase being indissolubly linked up with the preceding ones is more an emergent than a resultant and because unity is not uniformity, all these phases are bound up with a thread of unity. If, therefore, the task of making a correct assessment of anything Purāṇic is carried against a historical perspective, it may furnish striking finds considerably helpful to reconstruct the history of Indian culture and civilization out of the moving panorama of diverse and hazy myths and legends, rites and traditions.

Often in the Purāṇas we come across a verse declaring that the Vedas should be interpreted in the light of the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas, as the Vedas are always afraid of one not thoroughly acquainted with traditions (alpaśruta) thinking 'this one will maim and mutilate us'. The authors of the Purāṇas also tell us that even by knowing the four Vedas along with the Vedāṅgas and the Upaniṣads one does not become wise (vicakṣaṇa) until and unless one knows the Purāṇas.[7] All this shows that the Purāṇas declare them as saying the last

[7] *Comp. Itihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ Vedaṃ samupabṛṃhayet*
vibhety alpaśrutād Vedo mām ayaṃ prahariṣyati |
yo vidyāc caturo vedān sāṅgopaniṣado dvijaḥ
na cet purāṇaṃ saṃvidyān naiva sa syād vicakṣaṇaḥ ||

words on the interpretation of the Vedic passages. In fact, tradition is the very essence of culture and memory preserves tradition[8]. This memory, again, is the differentia distinguishing man from the lower species. Radhakrishnan says, 'Animals suffer from an oblivion of what they lived through, and work with very little experience. The tiger of to-day is identical with that of 6000 years ago. Each one begins his life as a tiger from the beginning as if none had ever existed before him. But man remembers his past and uses it in the present'[9]. The contribution of tradition in the field of Vedic interpretation has always been great[10] In explaining the Vṛtra-legend as a natural phenomenon of the cloud imprisoning the waters, Yāska refers to the opinions of the Aitihāsika-school,[11] and then gives a naturalistic interpretation of the whole allegory.[12] Even Sāyaṇa, the most well-informed commentator of the Vedas, interprets Vedic passages with the received impressions of his age and makes his commentary a very large assemblage of traditions by profusely drawing upon the views of the mythologists (Paurāṇikas), grammarians (Śābdikas), historians (Aitihāsikas), etymologists (Nairuktas), mystics (Rahasyābhijñas)

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[8] "A culture dies a natural death when it becomes crystallised or congealed, an accidental or artificial death when its tradition is interrupted"—Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 118.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[10] V. C. Bhattacharyya, Traditional Schools of Vedic Interpretation, *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 153 f.

[11] A rigid distinction between Itihāsa and Purāṇa is not always feasible. In fact, historical and mythological traditions commingle to such an extent that a division of the two into water-tight apartments is almost impossible; comp. *purāṇeṣvitihāso'yaṃ paṭhyate vedavādibhiḥ—Matsya*, 58. 4. According to Monier Williams the two literary species though 'very different' are closely related (*Hinduism*, p. 82).

[12] *tat ko Vṛtra megha iti nairuktās tvāṣṭros'ura ity aitihāsikāḥ apāṃ ca jyotiṣaś ca miśrībhāvakarmaṇo varṣakarma jāyate tatra upamārthena yuddhavarṇā bhavanti—Nirukta*, II. 16.

In course of his work Yāska mentions twenty four great teachers and seven different schools by name (including the Aitihāsika-school), not frequently without referring to some others in a general way.

and so on. If tradition reflects culture, Vedic culture has always been a living force[13]. The Veda, the repertory of Āryan culture, passes through many vicissitudes in course of its journey up to the Purāṇa-era when, in the Purāṇas, it propagates a neo-nationalism which remains no longer Āryan but Hindu in both spirit and contents. As the Purāṇas are the outcome of the weaving of diverse traditions coming down from the Vedic age[14], they possess an incalculable advantage in point of time over the pre-Purāṇic literatures and therefore become almost encyclopedic in character. If the Purāṇas have set up any tradition, it is the tradition of reconciling and bringing the moderate heterodox cults of their age within the pale of orthodoxy and yet maintaining regard and respect for Vedic rituals and customs and re-adjusting them according to the needs of the age. In any other sense, any such phrase as 'Paurāṇic tradition' will be a misnomer. It may, therefore, be said that if in the Brāhmaṇa literature we find the first phase of Mantra-bhāṣya settling itself as a distinct kind of literary production, the Purāṇas present us the last literary phase of the same.

Yet there is a fundamental difference between thes two phases and this difference is due to the fact that the conception of Dharma prevailing in the Brāhmaṇa-period undergoes a thorough change in the Purāṇa-era. The Brāhmaṇa literature stems out of the view that performance of sacrifice by uttering Mantras is the first Dharma. In its

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[13] Comp. "Tradition is something which is for ever being worked out anew and recreated by the free activity of its followers. What : built for ever is for ever building. If a tradition does not grow it only means that its followers have become spiritually dead. Throughout the history of Hinduism the leaders of thought and practice have been continually busy experimenting with new forms, developing new ideals to suit new conditions"—Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*,pp. 21-22 (Eighth impression, 1949).

[14] *ākhyānaiś cāpyupākhyānair gāthābhirdvijasattamāḥ / purāṇasaṃhitām cakre purāṇārtha-viśāradaḥ //—Viṣṇu.*, III. 3.16.

exposition of *ṚV* 1.164.50[15] the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[16] shows every inclination towards the view that the system of sacrificial performances comes down to its age from the hoary past and that sacrifices are the first laws (prathamāṇi dharmāṇi). It also refers to a sacrifice (sattra) performed by seers on the Sarasvatī, the memory of which is kept alive even at its time in the name Parisāraka given to the particular spot where the sacrifice it refers to is held[17]. The Mīmāṃsaka school avowedly confines itself to ritualistic texts and regards the Vedas as the source of the knowledge of Dharma which in its pristine form for the outward mind is nothing but the performance of sacrifice. In one word, the Vedic literature attempts at a ritualistic interpretation of the hymnal texts and strains every nerve to justify their liturgical employment, preaching thereby the Śrautadharma which is, in all essentialities, Yajñadharma in character.

The Purāṇas also believe in the ceremonious origin of the Vedic Mantras though they do not support each application of them as it prevails by their time[18]. The *Agni P.* says that Ṛks, Yajus and Sāmans are created for the accomplishment of sacrifices[19]. In a passage of the *Matsya P.* Śakra says to Bali that gods partake of their shares in sacri-

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[15] It reads thus : *Yajñena yajñaṃ ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan.*

[16] It is generally believed to be one among the oldest of its class:, see Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, H. O. S., Vol. 31, p. 19.

[17] Comp. *tasmādd hā py etarhi parisārakamity ācakṣate yad enaṃ ṣarasvatī samantaṃ parisasāra—A. Br.*, VIII, I, also, *ibid.*, XXVI ; I, in connection with the name Arbudodāsarpaṇī. The *T. Br.* ii. 8.8.10, gives a stanza speaking of Yajña being performed with oblations of *ghee* in the four fires. In his thesis entitled *Ṛgveda Mantras—Their Original Purpose and Later Applications*, the present writer has elaborately quoted the views of both oriental and occidental scholars that all the Ṛgveda-Mantras have not only ceremonial uses but also ceremonious origin.

[18] This point has been discussed later.

[19] Comp. *ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni nirmame yajñasiddhaye—Agni*, 17.13 also *Visnu.*. 3.14.21.

fice on the authority of the Vedas[20]. The *Brahmāṇḍa P*[20a]. tells that sacrifices have been prescribed in the Vedas and that they are performed by uttering Mantras. In an interesting passage the *Vāyu P.* [20b] narrates that the gods who are created from the mouth of Brahma are called Jayā and the Mantras come to constitute their forms (mantraśarīrāḥ). Curiously enough, of gods falling under this generic name, two bear the names of Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, suggesting thereby that the Iṣṭis are not only coming down from the most ancient times but also bear a close relation with the Vedic Mantras. The *Kūrma P.*[20c] mentions Bhāratavarṣa as a land of sacrifice. The performance of Yajña once gains so much popularity that the Purāṇas refer to King Vena's destruction at the hands of his subjects for banning all sacrificial performances in his kingdom[21]. A verse in the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* clearly states that the Veda is the basis of Yajña and the loss of the one brings a loss of the other[22]. A verse in the *Kūrma P.* tells that if three consecutive generations of a Brahmin-family desist from performing sacrifice with Vedic Mantras, the fourth generation in the line is called a Durbrāhmaṇa[23].

The Vedas are always held in high esteem in the Purāṇas. Brahmā is called Vedanidhi.[24] The first three Mantras of the three Saṃhitās are said to come out of Brahman's mouth[25] and the Purāṇas are regarded as nothing but a continuation

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[20] Comp. *yajñabhāgabhujo devā vedaprāmāṇyato'surāḥ*—*Matsya*. 246.14.

[20a] 15.2.1; 63. 32.. [20b] 66.4-7. [20c] 56.27.

[21] *Viṣṇu*. 1.13 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*. 68.107, f.

[22] *Vede nāśam anuprāpte yajño nāśaṃ gamiṣyati |*
yajñe naṣṭe devanāśas tataḥ sarvaṃ praṇaśyati ||
—*Brahmāṇḍa*., 66.6.

[23] The verse is—*yasya Vedaś ca Vedī ca vicchidyete tripūruṣaṃ|sa vai durbrāhmaṇo nārhaḥ śrāddhādiṣu kadācana*—*Kūrma*. *Upa*., 21.27 ; this verse is quoted with slight modification by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, one of the pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Vedas (*T. S.*, Mysore ed. II. 1, 10, p. 315) replacing *nāma yaś caiva vṛsalipatiḥ* for *nārhaḥ Śrāddhādiṣu kadācana*.

[24] *Vāyu*., 25.43.

[25] *Ibid*., 26.17f ; *Brahmāṇḍa*., Chap. 27.

of the Vedas[26]. Vedic customs and traditions have been declared supreme and any other customs or traditions not strictly conforming to them and not surrendering to the fold of Vedic orthodoxy have been disparaged[27].

Reading out the Vedas in a Śrāddh-ceremony is a practice very widely followed in the Purāṇic society[28] and a brāhmaṇa not well-versed in the Vedas is not entitled to an invitation to such ceremonies[29]. Agnihotra is the supreme relegious

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[26] *Kū. Upa.*, 24.21. The phrases *purāṇaṃ vedasammitam*, *purāṇaṃ brahmasammitam*, *puṇyaṃ Vedaiś ca sammitam*, *nānā-śruti-samāyuktam* are of frequent occurrence.

[27] Comp. *ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni tathaivātharvaṇāni ca |*
brahmaṇaḥ sahajaṃ rūpaṃ nityaiṣā śaktir avyayā ||
anādinidhanā divyā vāg utsṛṣṭā svayambhuvā |
ādau vedamayī divyā yataḥ sarvāḥ pravṛttayaḥ ||
ato'nyāni hi śāstrāṇi pṛthivyāṃ yāni kānicit |
na teṣu ramate dhīraḥ pāṣaṇḍī tena jāyate ||
Vedārthavittamaiḥ kāryaṃ yat smṛtaṃ munibhiḥ purā |
sa jñeyaḥ paramo dharmo nānyaśāstreṣu saṃsthitaḥ ||
yā vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayo yāś ca kāś ca kudṛṣṭayaḥ |
sarvās tāḥ niṣphalāḥ pretya tamoniṣṭhā hi tāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

—*Kūrma Pū.*, 2. 27-31; also comp. *Vāyu.*, 62.110.—

In the Purāṇas the word *pāṣaṇḍa* stands for any anti-Vedic faith and a follower of such a faith is called *pāṣaṇḍin*. In the inscriptions of Aśoka the word means a religious faith in general. The word occurs in *Manusaṃhitā* (IV. 30; IX, 225) where Kullūka explains *pāṣaṇḍinaḥ* as *vedabāhyavratalimgadhāriṇaḥ śākya-bhikṣu-kṣapaṇakādayah* and *pāṣaṇḍasthāḥ* as *śruti-smṛti-bāhya-vratadhāriṇaḥ*. It appears, the word undergoes a change in sense towards the worse during the resurgence of Brahmanical faith at the hands of Brāhmaṇās. From a verse in the *Vāyu. P.* we come to know that different anti-Vedic religions are already able to establish themselves by recruiting a swelling number of adherents from the society—

Vedāḥ kṛtayuge pujyās tretāyāṃ tu 'surās tathā |
yuddhāni dvāpare nityaṃ paṣaṇḍāś ca kalauyuge || —*Vāyu P.*, 78.37.

[28] *Kūrma. Upa.*, 22.69.

[29] *Vāyu.* 83-60-64. The *Viṣṇu.* 3.15 lays down the requisites of such a brāhmaṇa thus—

brāhmaṇān bhojayet śrāddhe yadguṇāṃs tān nibodha me |
triṇāciketas trimadhus triṣuparṇaḥ ṣaḍaṃgavit ||
Vedavit śrotriyo yāgī tathā vai jyeṣṭhasāmagaḥ ||

(See Śrīdhara Svāmin's commentary). A brāhmaṇa having no knowledge of the Vedas is called *nagna* (*Viṣṇu.*, 3.17.5).

deed for the brāhmāṇas[30]. In narrating the Rāmopākhyāna, the *Agni P.* speaks of Rāma's observing the vow of Cāturmāsya[31]. In declaring the supremacy of Mahādeva over Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the *Kūrma P.*[31a] counts on the verdict of the Vedas as final[32]. In short, the Mantras of the four Vedas are declared as instruments for the attainment of the fourfold goal (caturvarga) of human life.[33]

But Yajña on which the Vedic religion mainly hinges, now recedes back in the new social pattern of the Purāṇas[34]. The *Matsya P.*[34a] categorically states that the Vedas are lost in the Kali era[35]. I have frequently come across passages where it is told that performance of Yajña was introduced and considered Dharma in the Dvāpara era[36] and making of gifts is the greatest Dharma for the Kali age[37]. The reasons

[30] *Krūma Upa.*,24.11.

[31] *tac chrutvā mālyavatpṛṣṭhe cāturmāsyaṃ cakāra saḥ*—*Agni.*, 8.5.

[31a] Chap. 31.

[32] Even the advocates of the Kṛṣṇa-cult pretend to draw upon the Vedas as the authorities of Kṛṣṇa's supremacy—

rādhāvilāsarasikam kṛṣṇākhyaṃ puruṣaṃ param |

śrutavān asmi vedebhyo yatas tadgocaro'bhavat || —*Vāyu.*, 104.52, 55.

[33] *Agni.*, 271.1; elsewhere (104.20, 21) it states that it lays down various ways to salvation in consonance with the Vedic authority—*muktimārgā bahuvidhā uktā vedāvirodhataḥ |*

[34] Though the *Matsya.*, (145.44) clearly knows of the determinants of a Vedic Yajña—*paśūnāṃ dravyahaviṣām ṛk-sāma-yajuṣāṃ tathā |*

ṛtvijāṃ dakṣiṇāyāś ca saṃyogo yajña ucyate ||

Comp. also *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 65.42.

[34a] 144.17.

[35] 'Vedas' means 'Vedic Yajñadharma' in a transferred sense; it may also mean 'the Vedas proper' as the Purāṇas believe in a dangerous tampering in the body of the Vedas at different times and at different hands.

[36] The Purāṇas recognise the institution of sacrifice as belonging to a hoary past. According to the *Matsya P.* (143.42) Yajña was instituted in the Svāyambhuva era. The *Vāyu P.* in one place (8.66 ; also *Kūrma P.*, 28.17f) declares it as having originated in the Dvāpara age, while, in another (31.16), in the Tretā age.

[37] *Vāyu.*, 8.66; *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 8.65 ; the *Kūrma Upa.* 26.10 tell that gift is to be made only when one has surplus after maintaining one's family—

kuṭumbabhaktavasanād deyaṃ yad atiricyate |

anyathā dīyate yadh hi na tad dānaṃ phalapradaṃ ||

of this relegation of Yajña from social life are not far to seek. In the *Matsya P.* we hear Vāsudeva telling in course of his talk to Yudhiṣṭhira that the performance of Vedic Yajña (as prescribed by sages and gods) involving huge expense[38] and requiring various materials, always remains beyond the means of the poor. Only the rich are in a position to reap the merit accruing through the performance of a Yajña. Vāsudeva, therefore, advises Yudhiṣṭhira to have recourse to voyage to holy places (tīrthas) which is easy for the poor and assures him that it will bring him greater merit than even what is achieved by performing Yajña[39]. This sympathy for the poor actuates the authors of the Purāṇas to extend religion to the doors of every man of the society and Dharma now remains no monopoly of the favoured few. The Vrata-cult so elaborately propagated in the Purāṇas comes to the fore-front due to the same reason. It is mainly considered advantageous for the poor, inasmuch as it can be observed even by a destitute according as his resources permit[40]. The *Matsya P.* deprecates Yajña as the greatest enemy of mankind not because it does not believe in its efficacy but because it apprehends every defect at every step

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[38] The Soma sacrifice regarded in the Purāṇas as the best and the greatest of its kind, is so expensive that one having in store foodstuffs sufficient to maintain one's family for three years is only authorised to perform it—*Kūrma*, *Upa.*, 24.13-14. Also Vide *Manu*, XI. 7

[39] Comp. *ṛṣibhiḥ kratavaḥ proktā devaiś cāpi yathākramam |*
na hi śakyā daridreṇa yajñāḥ prāptuṃ mahīpate ||
bahūpakaraṇā yajñā nānāsambhāravistarāḥ |
prāpyante pārthivair etaiḥ samṛddhair vā naraiḥ kvacit ||
yo daridrair api vidhiḥ śakyaḥ prāptuṃ nareśvara |
tulyo yajñaphalaiḥ puṇyais tān nibodha yudhiṣṭhira ||
ṛṣīṇāṃ paramaṃ guhyaṃ idaṃ bhāratasattama |
tīrthānugamanaṃ puṇyaṃ yajñebhyo'pi viśiṣyate ||
—*Matsya.*, 112-12-15.

[40] In eulogising the Vibhūtidvādaśī-vrata the *Matsya P.* (99. 17-18) reads—*alpavitto yathāśaktyā stokaṃ stokaṃ samācaret |*
yaś cā py atīva niḥsvaḥ syād bhaktimān mādhavaṃ prati ||
puṣpārcana-vidhānena sa kuryād vatsaradvayaṃ ||

owing to the very complex nature that its performance involves[41].

There are other factors also contributing considerably towards the banishment of Yajña from society. It may not be an unwarrantable supposition that when the Brāhmaṇical religion loses its popularity with the masses[42], different religious sects with different customs and traditions and preaching different religious tenets try hard to transplant their thoughts and ideas on the soil of India and recruit fresh adherents to their faiths from among the masses. The *Kūrma P.* refers to Smṛtis that are current at its time though not sanctioned by the Vedas (Vedabāhya) and also to other corrupted visions of thoughts (kudṛṣṭayaḥ) all rooted in tamaḥ (tamoniṣṭhāḥ)[43]. In a passage of the *Matsya P.*[43a] it is told that Indra killed the preachers of some non-Vedic religions with his Vajra[44]. We also learn that by the time

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[41] Comp. annahīno dahed rāṣṭraṃ mantrahīnas tu ṛtvijaḥ /
yaṣṭāraṃ dakṣiṇāhīnaṃ nāsti yajñasamo ripuḥ //
na vā 'py alpadhanaḥ kuryāt lakṣahomaṃ naraḥ kvacit /
yasmāt pīḍākaro nityaṃ yajñe bhavati vigrahaḥ //
—*ibid.*, 93. 111-12.

[42] The animosity existing between the Vedic and the anti-Vedic people is one of the causes of the downfall of the Brāhmaṇical religion, Comp. "That the religion or the government did not always feel secure may be inferred from a passage in which Indra is requested to protect the worshipper not only in war but in peace, or amongst or against the people"—Wilson's translation of the Ṛgveda, Vol. III, Preface, p. xii. According to Wheeler, the Brāhmaṇical theology fell because 'it was devoid of all humanity' and 'utterly failed to reach the heart'. He says, "It is obvious that so far the theology of the Brāhmaṇas was without any moral meaning. It satisfied no yearning, furnished no consolation and utterly ignored the affections. But without human sympathies, theology, man cannot worship deity, anymore than he can worship beauty, excepting through the medium of humanity"—
—*India : Vedic and Post-Vedic.*, p. 80.

[43] *Kūrma Pv.*, 2.31.

[44a] 24.48—49.

[44] Comp. *Vedatrayīparibhraṣṭāṃścakāra dhiṣaṇādhipaḥ /*
Vedabāhyān parijñāya hetuvādasamanvitān //
jaghāna śakro vajreṇa sarvān dharmabahiṣkṛtān //

of the *Kūrma P.* many Śāstras preaching anti-Vedic views prevail[45]. They often mercilessly criticize the Vedic system of Yajñadharma so widely prevalent among the masses. The Vedic doctrine of Sacrifice with a luxuriant promise of heaven and happiness is hammered even by the Bhāgavata sect[46]. We find the interesting story where great sages assembled in a sacrifice held by Indra, hurl questions after questions to him regarding the propriety of killing of animals in a Yajña[47]. Elsewhere, it is told that a religious rite corrupted by killing of animals cannot lead one to heaven or bring him salvation[48]. The doctrine of Ahiṃsā appeared in the field of Dharma as a distinct anti-Vedic movement led by the Bhāgavatas, the Jains and the Buddhists. On the other hand, even Buddha himself is not spared by the Brāhmaṇas[49]. Buddha, begging alms from door to door is

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[45] *Kūrma Pv.*, 2.28-29; a list of such Śāstras is given in *Kūrma Upa.* 37. 146-7; also comp. *ibid.*, 37.30; *Agni.*, 237. 4-5 and 238.8-9 mention the names of many branches of knowledge called Vidyā. For the origin of the Ārhata religion and its criticism of the Vedic system of sacrifice see *Viṣṇu P.* 3.18. *Matsya P.* (24.47) refers to Vedabāhya Jinadharma; reference to atheism is also made in *Viṣṇu* P., 3.18.

[46] See *Gītā.*, 4.33; 4.42f Comp. 'The earlier Brahmanical attitude towards the faith (Bhāgavatism) was one of hostility but later on there was a combination between Brāhmaṇism and Bhāgavatism probably owing to the Buddhist propaganda of the Mauryas"—Roy Choudhury, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, (2nd ed.), p. 6-7. The allegorical representation of Yajña in *Chāndogya Up.* (3.17) probably bears testimony to this fact.

[47] *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 63. 12f.

[48] *Viṣṇu.*, 3.18.15.

[49] The *Saṃyuttanikāya* (1.162) shows that contemporary brāhmaṇas called Buddha 'Vṛṣala'. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 109.34) Buddha is called a thief—*yathā hi cauraḥ sa tathā hi buddhas-*

tathāgataṃ nāstikaṃ atra viddhi /

tasmāddhiyaḥ śakyatamaḥ prajānām

sa nāstikenābhimukho budhaḥ syāt //

This animosity is also present in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1.3.24)

tataḥ kalau saṃpravṛtte sammohāya suradviṣām /

buddhanāmnā 'ñjanasutaḥ kīkaṭeṣu bhaviṣyati //

Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva., 90.14) defines a Vṛṣala thus—*yasmin vīliyate dharmas taṃ devā vṛṣalaṃ viduḥ //*

seen being insulted and refused by the Brāhmaṇas[50]. In his conspiracy to kill Buddha, Devadatta is successful in getting the active co-operation of even King Ajātaśatru[51]. Yet, the doctrine of Ahiṃsā so emphatically advocated by Buddhism leaves a deep and permanent impress upon the spirit of Brāhmaṇical religion[52]. The Brāhmaṇas henceforth accept the doctrine of Ahiṃsā after modifying it not by inspiration from[53] but by impact against Buddhism. Ahiṃsā is advocated as the greatest of all Dharmas and yet declared to be on a par with slaying of animal victims in a horse-sacrifice[54].

The foregoing sketch will explain the considerable animosity existing amongst different religious sects. The result of this animosity is not happy and certainly very perplexing for the people in general. The sixty-fourth Chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* presents us a picture very helpful in forming an idea of the turmoil the society passes through during this period of religious transition. Herefrom we learn that on account of different opinions maintained and

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[50] Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, p. 264.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 193-4. Hieu-en-sang happens to be an eye-witness of a situation in which five hundred brāhmaṇas conspire and set fire to a Saṅghārāma built by Harṣavardhana (Beal, *Si-Yu-ki.*, Vol. I, p. 219-21.)

[52] The U ıchavṛttyākhyāna in the *Mahābhārata* denouncing Vedic Yajña deserves attention.

[53] Munshi (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, Foreword, p. xiv) says 'Buddha was undoubtedly the product of Aryan culture.'

[54] cf. *ahiṃsā paramo dharmas tathā'hiṃsā paraṃ tapaḥ |*
ahiṃsā paramaṃ satyaṃ yato dharmaḥ pravartate. ||
—*Anuśāsana Parva.* ; 115.25.

and *māsi māsy aśvamedhena yo yajeta śataṃ samāḥ |*
na khādati ca yo māṃsaṃ samam etan mataṃ mama ||

It is interesting to note that when Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (187-151 B. C.) the Brāhmaṇa general of the last Maurya King Bṛhadratha occupies the throne of Magadha and performs Horse-sacrifice to celebrate his victory, he finds a warm welcome from the Brāhmaṇas—

Comp. *audbhijjo bhavitā kaścit senānī kāśyapo dvijaḥ |*
aśvamedhaṃ kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāhariṣyati ||
—*Harivaṃśa* (Bhaviṣyaparva., 2.40).

propagated by different religious sects regarding Dharma, the true presentation of Dharma is entirely lacking and, as a result, people become confounded and come at a loss to determine which one they should accept. The Ritualistic School pervades its grip over the society to a deplorable extent and renders religious texts in a way that suits them most[55] without caring for what their interpretations ought to be. The indiscriminate and indiscreet employment of Vedic mantras in rituals also help to create a good deal of aversion in popular mind for the Vedic rituals. The priestly class sometimes indulges in luxuriant speculations in selecting Mantras to be applied in rituals prescribed by Vidhi[56]. The *Kūrma P.* narrates a story which is very important from this point of view. Dakṣa, son of Pracetas, holds a sacrificial session at Gangādvāra without offering any oblations to Rudra therein. Sage Dadhīca asks for the reasons of doing so. Dakṣa replies saying that Rudra has not been allotted a share in every sacrifice and that Mantras also are not there (in the Saṃhitā) by uttering which oblations might be offered to him accompanied with his wife[57]. Sages assembled there side with Dakṣa. This story clearly points to the fact that a proclivity to accommodate new gods in sacrifice is seen with the priestly hierarchy and because there is not a parallel protuberance in the number of Vedic verses needed for them, the priestly class, in order to meet the growing demand, has to transgress their scheduled jurisdiction

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[55] Comp. Śāśtrārthaiḥ saṃśayaprāptān yathārthān vai vikalpitaiḥ/ *Matsya.*, 153.177. See also *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 64-12-17.

[56] Comp. mantrāṇāṃ kalpanaṃ caiva vidhidṛṣṭeṣu karmasu— *Brahmāṇḍa*, Chap. 65. The passage *śāstre śastre smṛtā mantrāḥ prayogās tatra durlabhāḥ* (*Agni.*, 312.4) points to the reverse case where Mantras survive leaving their corresponding rites totally forgotten.

[57] Comp. *Sarveṣv eva hi yajñeṣu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitaḥ |*
na mantrā bhāryayā sārdhaṃ śaṅkarasyeti nejyate ||
Kūrma Pv. 15.8. When Vīrabhadra, attendant of Rudra, demands Rudra's share in sacrifice, gods tell him, 'There is no mantra that entitles you to a share in sacrifice"—*ibid.*, 15.52.

and recruit new verses from beyond it. A continuous addition to the bulk of the Mantra literature in different times and at different hands is also expressly referred to[58]. A tampering or reshuffling of the *Yajurveda*, the Veda for the ritualists, is also hinted at[59]. It is told that Śākalya, called Padavittamaḥ[60] or Vādakartā[61] dies of his being defeated by Yājñavalkya in a controversy with the latter[62]. This may be suggestive of the fact that Śākalya's splitting up of the Vedic Mantras into their constituent Pada-units is challenged by no less a seer than Yājñavalkya and the former has to pay the penalty for the wrong method pursued throughout his Pada-text in the form of death.

The growing influence of the Tantra-cult is also seen in this period. The use of the terms Kṛtyā, Abhicāra, Grahaśānti, Pauṣṭika etc. is very frequent. In one place we get a long list of articles required for Vaśīkaraṇa[63]. Belief in the magical power of Mantras is seen[64]. Mantras from the Tantra-texts are profusely recruited[65], and they already acquire so much popularity that they hardly require full quotation and easily pass by their technical names[66].

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[58] Comp. *pratimanvantaraṃ caiva śrutir anyā vidhīyate |*
ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni yathāvat pratidaivatam || *Matsya.*, 145.58.

[59] *Brahmāṇḍa.* 66.23 ; the result is that the Yajuḥsaṃhitās current in the northern, eastern and the central part of the country considerably differ from one another—the three Saṃhitās being respectively known as Śyāmāyanī, Ālambī and Āruṇī—*ibid.*, 67.8-9. This chapter gives a fairly long list of different sages and the prodigious number of Saṃhitās composed by each of them.

[60] *Ibid.*, 66.64.

[61] *Ibid.*, obviously for his being an opponent of Yājñavalkya in a hot controversy with the latter.

[62] *Ibid.*, 66.64-5.

[63] *Agni.*, 123.28-34.

[64] *Ibid.*, 137.9f.

[65] Comp. *āgamasambhava mantra—ibid.*, 97. 71.

[66] As for examples, Umā-maheśa-mantra, Gaurīmantra, Pāśupata-mantra—*Agni.*, 97, 35, 38, 59. Names of several Tantra works and the countries in which they are widely in vogue are given in *Agni.*, chap. 39,

The reason of this growing influence of the Tantra-cult is obvious. The Purāṇas are mainly reservoirs of Kṣatriya-tradition and Kṣatriyas are seen to be particularly interested in and inclined to the *Atharvaveda*[67]. Particularly in war times Kings are seen to have recourse to Tantra[68]. The later the Purāṇas, the more they betray the Tantra-influence. By the time of the *Agni P.*, even a ritual for Viṣṇu assumes threefold character—Vedic, Tāntrik and mixed[69] (miśra).

Above is a brief assessment of the nature and direction of some of the momentous forces working through the life of India and steadily broadening out the Vedic Yajñadharma into the powerful neo-nationalism of the Purāṇas. It has been already stated that to satisfy the popular thirst for religion the Purāṇas brought forward the Tīrtha-cult and the Vrata-cult[70]. Another important substitute for Vedic Yajña is the Temple-cult which ramains quite unknown in the Vedic

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[67] Comp. *rājñas tv atharvavedena sarvakarmāṇi sa prabhuḥ |*
kārayāmāsa maitreya brahmatvaṃ ca yathāhutiḥ—
Viṣṇu., 3.3.14.

[68] *Agni.*, 125.51-55. The Trailokya-vijaya-vidyā (*ibid.*, 134.3), Saṅgrāma-vijaya-vidyā (*ibid.*, chap. 135) are specially helpful to kings to disperse hostile army in the battlefield.

[69] Comp. *vaidikas tāntriko miśro viṣṇor vai trividho makhaḥ*—*Agni.*, 372.34.

Monier Williams says 'The Purāṇas were written for the express purpose of exalting one or the other male deity while the Tantras came to extol the prominence of their female counterparts. He undermines both of these two literatures as representing 'the most corrupt phases of popular Hinduism'—*Hinduism.*, p. 81-2. Just as Buddhism is absorbed by the acceptance of Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and that of Mahāyānaism into the fold of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivaism so the Tantra-cult is absorbed by allowing the Āgama-tradition to come on an equal footing with the Nigama-tradition to form the basic authorities of Hinduism. That the Tāntric cult of the mother-goddess once greatly influenced Vaiṣṇavism is proved by the Khoh inscription of A.D. 441. [*The Classical Age* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan), p. 421].

[70] Besides occasional discourses the *Matsya* deals with the efficacy of Tīrthas in 15 consecutive chapters (Chaps. 180—194) and devotes one whole chapter to eulogise 60 vratas at a stretch.

period[71]. The *Agni P.* declares that the right use of wealth lies in its being spent for making gifts (dāna) or holding naming sessions (kīrtana) but the best use of it can be had by spending it for building up the temples of the Trinity.[72] It goes even so far as to declare that the very thought of building up a temple makes one completely freed from sins by a day[73]. This was but natural. The Vedic religion is a religion of the contemplative sages presenting only a procession of thoughts and hardly furnishing any stereotyped result. The religion of the Brāhmaṇa literature is a religion of the mercenary priests, accessible only to the wealthy section of the society and exclusively sacerdotal in character. But the religion of the Purāṇas is a religion of the brāhmaṇas, adherents of one or other member of the Trinity, meant for and accessible to all and therefore, popular in character.

The doctrine of Incarnation is also a noted feature of the Purāṇas. It has been stated that one attains heaven by hearing myths and legends connected with the Avatāras. Copying of the Purānas and making gifts of them come to

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[71] See Wilson's translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, Preface p. xxii; Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 125; Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 22.

The art of making images (Pratimā-nirmāṇa-vidyā), the art of colouring them (siṃhavidyā), the practice of worshipping holy stones (śālagrāma-pūjanam) grow as natural corollaries of this Cult.

[72] Comp. *yadā vittaṃ na dānāya nopabhogāya dehinām |*
nāpi kīrttyai na dharmārthaṃ tasya svāmye'tha ko guṇaḥ ||
tasmād vittaṃ samāsādya daivād vā pauruṣād atha |
dadyāt samyag dvijāgryebhyaḥ kīrtanāni ca kārayet ||
dānebhyaś cādhikaṃ yasmāt kīrtanebhyo varaṃ yataḥ|
ataś ca kārayed dhīmān viṣṇvāder mandirādikam ||—*Agni.*, 38. 24—27.

[73] Comp. *devāgāraṃ karomī ti manasā yastu cintayet ||*
tasya kāyagataṃ pāpaṃ tad ahnā hi praṇśyati ||
anenaivānumeyaṃ hi phalaṃ prāsādavistarāt ||
—*ibid.*, 41.33-35.

be regarded as deeds of unlimited merit[74]. The importance of the ceremony of Dīkṣā[75] and of the position of Guru[76] as the spiritual guide of a man may also be regarded as the natural offshoots of the urge to provide every scope to the people for satisfying their religious thirst that remains subdued for centuries by the unsympathetic attitude and rigid character of Vedic Yajñadharma. The contribution of Buddhism working on the religious front as a protestant faith is also in no way negligible. The spirit of sympathy for the mass that makes the Purāṇas so conspicuous and adds a character to them is practically derived from Buddhism. Monier Williams thinks that probably the definite shape given by the Brāhmanas to the doctrine of human incarnation, was due to their perception of the fact that the success of Buddhism was in great part due to the reverence the Buddha inspired by his own personal character[77]. The legend of Vāmadeva as being born of his mother's side is thought by Wilson[78] as 'suggestive of the subsequent similarly marvellous birth of Buddha'. It is to be noted that the age of the Purāṇas is the age of the revival of Brāhmaṇism in a new garb—that of Hinduism. On the open platform of self-implantation Brāhmaṇism has to face as its rivals different sectarian religious cults of which Buddhism becomes the strongest protestant church. It is an age of vying of the two—each one trying hard to absorb the other by bringing it within its own fold. Brāhmaṇism ultimately emerges victorious primarily for its principle of absorption sufficiently elastic for sheltering other faiths yet sufficiently rigid

[74] *Agni.*, 63. 20—22; *Matsya.*, Chap. 292; *Agni.*, Chap. 272.

[75] *Agni.*, Chap. 81; 83.62.

[76] *Ibid.*, 79. 34f comp. also *gurur guroḥ pādukā ca paro guruś ca pādukā*—*ibid.*, 33.46.

[77] *Hinduism.*, p. 72.

[78] His translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. III, Preface, p. xviii Comp. also 'The Buddhist conception of the Pratyeka-Buddhas might have influenced the development of the theory'—*The Classical Age* (Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana), p. 415.

to secure its own. With this is added the advantage derived from the greatest blunder of Buddhism—the blunder of deriding the Vedas and denying the Vedic theology. Both are, in fact, systems of duty, morality and benevolence and both lay stress on more on a way of life than a system of thoughts. Buddhistic system of duty and way of living combined with Vedic theology makes what we have in the Purāṇas—the Hinduism. In other words, Hinduism minus Vedic theology constitutes Buddhism[79].

The success of Hinduism, therefore is mainly due to the fact that the Purāṇas, the propagating authorities of Hinduism, built up on the foundations of Vedic heritage and traditions[80]. A sincere and deep regard for the Vedas as well as the rites prescribed by them is palpably visible throughout the Purāṇas. Even where the Tīrthas and the Vratas are glorified they are done so because they promise merit equal to that accruing through the performance of a Vedic rite. The Tīrthas are glorified because it is stated, the Vedas and the Yajñas are bodily present there[81]. When Sāvitrī enumerates the gateways to meritorious deeds before the God of death, mention of Yajña comes first in the list[82].

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[79] Comp. 'Brāhmaṇism is a religion which may be described as all theology, for it makes God everything, and everything God. Buddhism is no religion at all, and certainly no theology, but rather a system of duty, morality and benevolence, without real deity, prayer or priest'— M. Williams, *Hinduism.*, p. 52.

[80] Comp. 'The title 'Veda' is sometimes given to them', and the word Ṛk and also apparently Sūkta to their verses'—Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Chap. II, p. 29-30.

[81] Comp. *tatra vedāś ca yajñāś ca mūrtimanto yudhiṣṭhira*—*Matsya*. 110.90 ; *sarvayajñeṣu yat puṇyam avimykte tad āpnuyād*—*ibid*. 185.54. It is said that Indra becomes the king of gods by performing Yajña in the Jāmadagnya Tīrtha—*ibid.*, 194.35, 47. In fact the more the Tīrthas are glorified in a Purāṇa, the more it is of late origin.

[82] *tasya dvārāṇi yajanam tapo dānaṃ damaḥ kṣamā |*
brahmacaryaṃ tathā satyaṃ tīrthānuśaraṇaṃ śubham ||
svādhyāyasevā sādhūnāṃ sahavāsaḥ surārcanam |
gurūṇāṃ caiva śuśrūṣā brāhmaṇānāṃ ca pūjanam ||
indriyāṇāṃ jayaś caiva brahmacaryam amatsaram||—*Matsya.*, 212.20-22.

Being virtually connected with the life of the common people much more closely than the Vedic literature, the Purāṇas exhibit a wide catholicity of outlook in their conception of Dharma and regards it as the great sustainer'[83]. The religion of the Vedas being preached by few sages and accessible to the wealthy few of the society is narrow in character, while that of the Purāṇas being framed by the temple-priests, propagated by the Sūtas and meant for people belonging to all walks of life, is ecclesiastical and rational in character[84].

The role of the Vedas and the Vedic Mantras is also not inconsiderable. In dealing with the rites, ceremonies, usages and religious views which are different from Vedic tradition, the Purāṇas provide ample scope for employment of Vedic Mantras, all types of liturgical formulae, Praiṣa, Gāthā, Śloka etc. Many passages in the Purāṇas quote Vedic Mantras *verbatim* or by parts or when not actually quoting the very words of the Vedic texts give a very close paraphrase of them that is, at times, agreeably surprising, or press into service famous Vedic legends for the glorification of holy places. *Vāyu P.*[84a] is couched almost in the same words as *Rv.*[84b]. A close resemblance with Upaniṣadic text is found in *Kū. Upa.*[84c], *Agni P.*[84d]. Some passages are often met with which are nothing but Vedic verses reproduced

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[83] *dharmeti dhāraṇe dhātur māhātmye caiva paṭhyate|*
dhāraṇāc ca mahattvena dharma eṣa nirucyate ||—*ibid.*, 134.17; for similar views vide *Agni.*, 161.11-17, *Vāyu.*, 59.270 etc.

[84] Comp. 'The various treatises on temples and image-worship took their shape after Hinduism grew out of Vedism'—Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 125.

[84a] 6.99.

[84b] x.90.12.

[84c] 9.12 and 10.13.

[84d] 382.21f.

in Paurāṇic forms[85]. *Vāyu P.*[85a] is close to *Ṛv.*[85b] *Vāyu P*[85c]. reminds us of *Ṛv.*[85d]. Many passages are there that present a very lucid explanations of some allegorical Ṛk-verses[86]. In describing the churning of the ocean, *Agni P.* draws an analogy with the Vedic system of churning of the fire (Agni-manthana)[87] and expresses it with the help of ritualistic terminology. In describing the person of Viṣṇu in His Boar-incarnation we clearly see the influence of the Vedic heritage[88].

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[85] Comp. *śaṃ no'stu dvipade nityaṃ śaṃ no'stu catuṣpade*—*Vāyu.*, 27.59;
mathitoyas tv araṇyāṃ vai so'gniragniḥ samidhyate—
ibid., 29.38;

sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt |
sarvavyāpī bhuvaḥ sparśād atyatiṣthad daśāṅgulam ||

[85a] 30.184.

[85b] 1.10.1.

[85c] 97.60—62.

[85d] 1.154.i.

[86] *Viṣṇu*, 1.12.59-9; 61-63 and also comp. *Viṣṇu.*, 2.8.95-986). *Matsya.*, 125.41—43 reads—

chandobhir vājirupais tair yathācakraṃ samāsthitaiḥ |
vāruṇasya rathasyeha lakṣaṇaiḥ sadṛśaś ca saḥ ||
tenāsau carati vyomni bhāsvān anudinaṃ divi |
athaṅgāni tu sūryasya pratyaṅgāni rathasya ca ||
saṃvatsarasy āvayavaiḥ kalpitāni yathākramam |
ahar nābhi tu sūryasya ekacakrasya vai smṛtaḥ ||
arāḥ saṃvatsarās tasya nemyaḥ ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ smṛtāḥ ||

This portion can be regarded as explaining some allegorical verses on Sūrya in *Ṛv.* 1.164; comp. also, *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 56.37ff; *Viṣṇu.*, 2.8.7.

[87] *manthānaṃ mandaraṃ kṛtvā netraṃ kṛtvā tu*
vāsukim—*Agni.*, 276.16; also *Viṣṇu.*, 1.9. 77, 83.

[88] Comp. *vedapādo yūpadaṃṣṭraṃ kratudantaś citīmukhaḥ*—*Matsya.*, 248.67—73; *Viṣṇu.*, 1.4.25, 29; *Vāyu.*, 6.16—23. Yasodā with Yoganidrā in her womb is called *phalagarbhā tvamevejyā vahnigarbhā tathāraṇiḥ*—*Viṣṇu.*, 5.2.9. When missiles hurled by the demons at Viṣṇu enter the latter's person, it is expressed with the help of a simile taken from the ancient practice of the oral teaching of the Vedas by a preceptor to his disciple—

tāny astrāṇi prayuktāni śarīraṃ viviśur hareḥ |
gurūktāny upadiṣṭāni sac chiṣyasya smṛtāv iva ||—*Matsya.*, 151.9.

The hymns of the *Ṛgveda* from the teeth of Viṣṇu in his Vāmana-incarnation—*Matsya.*, 245.60.

In a passage of the *Viṣṇu P.*, the import of a liturgical formula is surprisingly brought out[89].

The doctrine of Trinity that is commonly regarded as the peculiar contribution of the Purāṇas is believed by Monier Williams to be rooted in the Vedas and he says that 'a change of name in Hindu mythology does not necessarily imply the creation of a new deity'[90]. Wheeler[91] also agrees with M. Williams when he says that Viṣṇu of the Purāṇas is an old Vedic conception more or less associated with the Sun'. Wilson, though himself not advocating a Vedic basis for the doctrine of the Triple manifestion, yet admits that 'according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Tri-mūrti was the first element in the faith of the Hindus'[92]. Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* gives Viṣṇu as one of the names of the Sun-god[93]. The number 'three' which forms the very basis of the classification of the Vedic gods probably serves as the motive power behind the doctrine of Triple manifestation[94]. The concept of Triple manifestations representing the three distinct functions of creation

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Ṛv. 1.22.17 may be taken as forming the very basis of the Vāmana-ncarnation. The Vedic literature supplies the basis of the Boar-incarnation too. *The Classical Age* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana), p. 415.

[89] Comp. *prabhā vivasvato rātrāv astaṃ gacchati bhāskare |*
visaty agnim ato rātrau vahnir dūrāt prakāśate ||
vahnipādas tathā bhānuṃ dineṣv āviśati dvija |
atīva vahnisṃyogād ataḥ sūryaḥ prakāśate ||
—*Viṣṇu.*, 2.8.21-22.

[90] *Hinduism*, p. 17-8; the triad of the Purāṇas—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara—has, according to him their Vedic counterparts in Agni, the Sun-god and Rudra respectively—*ibid.*, p. 63.

[91] *India : Vedic and Post-Vedic.*, p. 75.

[92] His translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, Preface p. 25.

[93] The *tri-vikrama* or the three steps of Viṣṇu have been often explained as referring to the three positions of the Sun—its rise in the eastern horizon, culmination in the mid-sky and setting on the western horizon.

[94] Even where the number of gods swells to 3339 (*Ṛv.* 3.9.9; 10.52.6 *VS* 33.7; *T.Br.* 2.7.12.2), it still remains a multiplication of 3.

(*sṛṣṭi*) sustenance (sthiti) and dissolution (laya) may also be said to be rooted in later Vedic literature[95]. Idolatry forming the special feature of the Paurāṇic society is no invention of that period. Image-cult is not unknown to the Vedic society. Evidences are there to show that the Vedic Ṛṣis conceived God both as corporal as well as incorporal. In *Ṛv.* 7. 100.6, the Ṛṣi asks Viṣṇu not to hide His form. In another, *Ṛv.* 10.130.3, the word Pratimā actually occurs.

The religious rites prescribed in the Purāṇas are of Gṛhya character and they do not require the three śrauta fires for their accomplishment. The Purāṇas advance a myth according to which the household (gārhapatya) fire is the original one and the introduction of the other two is made by Aila Purūravā at a much later epoch[96]. It is plausible that the Vedic Āryans developed, as is very natural for a race in its religious commencements, its elaborate system of domestic rites and ceremonies before diverting its attention to working up a highly complex structure of śrauta rituals. Such an inference would place the Gṛhyasūtras even before the Brāhmaṇa texts which are the first ritual treatises available. But the Gṛhysūtras at a much later period being the only systematised works dealing with Gṛhya rites, we have practically no warrant in asserting with confidence the hypothesis we already framed about the chronological priority of Gṛhya literature, unless we try to explain the absence of such a one by putting forward a theory of wholesale destruction a that might have easily taken place during the untold vistas of centuries or have faith in the belief that what was

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[95] In the verse—*eka eva rudro'vatasthe na dvitīyo raṇe nighnanpṛtmīsu śatrūn, saṃsṛjya viśvā bhuvanāni gopā pratyaṅ janān saṃcukocāntakāle* (partially quoted in *Nirukta* 1.15), the three functions are combined into one god, Rudra.

[96] The story is elaborately given in *Viṣṇu.*, 4.6.35—46; also comp.

aśvatthād araṇiṃ kṛtvā mathitvā'gniṃ yathāvidhi |
mathitvā'gniṁ tridhā kṛtvā hy ayajat sa narādhipaḥ ||
eko' gniṃ pūrvam āsīd vai ailas trīṃs tān akalpayat ||—*Vāyu.*, 91,46-7.

lacking was not a set form of Gṛhya rituals but was either the enthusiasm or the skill to prepare out of the prevalent[97] mass of domestic rites systematised ritual treatises.

The Purāṇas believe that the *Yajurveda*—the Veda for the rituals, as the very name indicates—is the only one existing since the most ancient times, and of which the three other Vedas are mere sub-divisions[98] at a later epoch. If it is held that division of the Vedas into distinct collections is necessitated by the growing complexities of rituals and that this is done to facilitate the performance of the respective duties of the four chief priests, it must be admitted after due onsideration of the aforesaid myth that the *Yajurveda* referred to in the *Kūrma P.*[98a] was the Veda for the Gṛhya rituals and was the earliest forerunner of the whole ritual literature we possess today.

By the introduction of the aforesaid myth and by declaring that the *Yajurveda* is the original Veda, the authors of the Purāṇas were able to convince the society that the Gṛhya-rituals preceded their Śrauta counterparts in the evolution of ritual history and, therefore, a relegation, if not rejection, of the latter would only mean a go back to a practice sanctified by both originality and antiquity.

The above discussion shows that the set of traditions propagated by the Purāṇas is basically founded on the Vedic

[97] In the light of the aforesaid myth of the introduction of the two Śrauta fires at a much later epoch by Purūravā, it becomes impossible to deny a chronological priority of those mantras in the *Ṛgveda* that are originally composed even in that age for being used in domestic rites. Comp. 'There are indeed traces of hymns made for such occasions (household ceremonies) as the ploughing, the return of the cattle from the pasture, their driving in and driving out, but these are almost isolated. There are, however, hymns for marriage and the funeral ritual and a few hymns dealing with magic rites, such as the removal of jaundice by the Sun, the prevention of miscarriage and the prognostication of misfortune' Keith—*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (H. O. S. Vol. 31), p. 256.

[98] Comp. *eka āsīd yajurvedas taṃ caturdhā vyakalpayat |*
cāturhotram abhūd yasmiṃs tena yajñam athākarot ||
—*Viṣṇu.*, 3.3.11.

[98a] 3.3.11.

heritage. Since the Saṃhitā-period, the Vedic Mantras undergo successive phases of liturgical application, the last phase being represented by the Purāṇas and differing from the earlier ones in point of domesticity. A comparative and historical study of the Viniyoga phases of the Vedic Mantras presents a formidable and yet an interesting task which, if ever completed by anybody, will render yeoman service to the proper understanding of the elixir that sustains the continuity of Mantra application throughout this long stretch of time. The question of the propriety of the liturgical employment of the Vedic Mantras presents a tough problem and can be answered only after a careful investigation of every single Mantra citation in the perspective of all the rituals it accompanies in different phases.

THE YOGI-YĀJNAVALKYA SMṚTI AND ITS UTILISATION IN THE MEDIAEVAL DIGESTS OF BENGAL AND MITHILĀ

By Prof. BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

THIS Smṛti is different from the famous *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, as its very name implies. It has recently (1951) been critically edited with a Sanskrit introduction by Svāmī Kuvalayānanda and Pandit Raghunāthaśāstri Kokaje and published from Lonavla (Poona district) as '*Bṛhat-yogi-yājñavalkya smṛti*.' It consists of 12 chapters with verses ranging between 20 and 198 in the several chapters, the total number of verses being 928. It deals with *ācāra*, its 7*th* chapter being concerned with ceremonial ablutions. The printed edition is based on the collation of two MSS., deposited in the libraries of the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* of Poona and *India Office* of London respectively. The learned editors have supplemented the text with an appendix, containing a well-arranged collection of verses of Yogi-Yājñavalkya (Yogi-Yāj.) from several published digests but missing in the two MSS., collated for this edition. The object of the present paper is to investigate the utilisation of the Yogi-Yāj. by Ballāla Sena, Caṇḍeśvara, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, all but the second of whom belonged to Bengal and the second only to Mithilā, all of them having flourished between the 12*th* and 16*th* centuries of the Christian era.

(1) Ballāla Sena (1158—1179 A. D.)

The *Dānasāgara*[1] (*D. S.*) *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*[2] are the two extant[3] works of the Bengal king, Ballāla

[1] Edited by the present writer and published by the Asiatic Society, 1956, as work No. 274, *Bibliotheca Indica*.

[2] Edited by Muralidhar Jha and published by Prabhakart & Co., Varaṇasi, 1905.

[3] Ballāla Sena wrote at least three other works, viz., *Ācārasāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara* and *Vratasāgara*. The introductory verses 56 and 55

Sena. Of these, the latter contains no quotation whatsoever from the *Yogi-yāj.*, concerned as it is with *śānti*, i.e. propitiatory rites only. But the former contains a fair number of the *Yogi-yāj.* quotations, it also having mentioned both *Yājña-valkya* and *Yogi-yājñavalkya* among its authorities on p. 3 in its introductory verses 16 and 17 respectively. The *Yogi-yāj.* quotations in the *Dānasāgara* concentrate mainly in its chapter on *paribhāṣā* (i.e. technical terms), included within its introductory portion, while its chap. 43 on *vidyā-dāna* (i.e. gift of learning) contains a single quotation of one verse and a half only from the *Yogi-yāj.* Almost all of the above verses with the solitary exception of that on p. 53 of *D. S.* are found in the printed edition of the *Yogi-yāj.* It may be added here that though the three verses on pp. 52, 56 and 57 are prefixed with the word 'Yājñavalkyaḥ', yet they are really *Yogi-yāj.* verses. The Brahmacārīkāṇḍa of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (pp. 63-64) has ascribed these verses to the *Yogi-yāj.* and the present writer has noted this fact in the footnotes of the relevant pages of his edition of *D. S.*, as the *Yogi-yāj. Smṛti* had up till then not been published. The first two *Yogi-yāj.* verses (on pp. 52 and 53) in the *D. S.* relate to moral conduct and mode of wearing clothes respectively at the time of religious observances and the last one and a half verses (on p. 491 in the chap. of gift of learning) define seven books of the *siddhānta* class, while those on the pages 55, 56-57 and 63 are concerned with the procedure of *japa* (i.e. inaudible muttering of mantras as a mode of worship) and the importance of *vidhi* (i.e. due formality) and *śraddhā* (i.e. faith in religious actions).

(p. 6 of the published edition) of the *Dānasāgara* record the names of the first two works, while the existence of the third is inferred from two references on pp. 52 and 59 of the above edition of the same. *Vide* also the present writer's paper, *viz.*, 'Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena' (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 141—44 at p. 144).

(2) Caṇḍeśvara (1290—1370 A. D.)

Of the seven *Smṛti-ratnākaras* of this Maithila digest-writer, the following three viz. *Kṛtyaratnākara*,[4] *Gṛhastha*° and *Vivāda*° have been published, while the following two viz. *Śuddhiratnākara*[5] and *Dānaratnākara*[6] exist in MSS. only. The first two of the published works and the unpublished *Dānaratnākara* only contain quotations from the *Yogi-yāj*.

(a) *Kṛtyaratnākara* (*K. R.*)

Though the *K. R.* mentions on p. 30[7] in the sub-chapter on *pramaṇa* (i.e. sources) in the chapter on *dharmanirūpaṇa* (i.e. determination of dharma) the work of the *Yogi-yāj*. as one of the reputed sources of dharma to be followed on appropriate occasions, yet its five groups of quotations from the same on pp. 46, 47, 49-50, 51 and 63-64, amounting to 16 verses only, are identical with first five among the six groups of *Yogi-yāj*. quotations in the *D. S.*, which latter work is also explicitly mentioned on p. 51 of the *K. R.* in the phrase '*iti sāgaraḥ*' (i.e. as quoted from the *Sāgāra*, an obvious abbreviation of the *D. S.*) after the *Yogi-yaj*. quotation, thus, clearly showing that the *K. R.* quotations are second hand ones, being from the *D. S.* and not from the *Yogi-yāj*. itself. Four of the above five groups of quotations, i.e., almost all except that on p. 47, the last three verses on pp. 49-50 and two out of seven verses on pp. 63-64, are found in the printed *Yogi-yāj*.

(b) *Gṛhasthasratnākara* (*Gṛ. R.*)

The *Gṛ. R.* quotes the *Yogi-yāj*. not less than 30 times in its chapters on *prātaḥ-snāna*, *kriyā-snāna*, *sandhyopāsana*,

[4] All these three works have been edited by the late MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the *Bibliotheca Indica* between 1925 and 1931.

[5] Asiatic Society MS. No. 3826 of the Govt. of India collection.

[6] Poona Deccan College MS. No. 114 of 1884-5.

[7] वृद्धशातातप—वृद्धमनु—योगियाज्ञवल्क्य—वृद्धवसिष्ठ—लघुहारीतादीनि तु प्रसिद्धान्तर्गतान्येवावस्थाभेदेन तैरेव करणात्।

japa and *tarpaṇa* (pp. 191—268). Most of these quotations, which are big ones, ranging between 17 and 45 lines, are found with occasional different readings in the printed *Yogi-yāj*. (chaps. 1, 4 and 6—8). A big quotation of 25 lines on pp. 243-44 is partly the same as the two verses of the quotation of five verses on pp. 49-50 and as the three verses of that of seven verses on pp. 63-64 of the *K. R.* The latter half of another big quotation of 17 lines on pp. 241-42 is the same as the remaining four verses on the last-mentioned pages of K. R. The first of the three unidentified verses out of five in the quotation on p. 219 is the same as the third one on pp. 49-50 of the *K. R.*

(3) Govindānanda (1500—1540 A. D.)

Of the four published works of this author, the following two only, viz. the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (*V. K. K.*) and *Śuddhikaumudī* (*S. K.*), quote the *Yogi-yāj*. twice, once in each case. The *V. K. K.* quotation on p. 503, consisting of a half-verse only, is the same as the second quotation on p. 263 of the *Gṛ.* R. and the S. K. citation on p. 298, consisting of a single verse only, is also identical with the second one on p. 217 of the *Gṛ.* R. Both the quotations are found in the 7th chap. of the *Yogi-yāj*. (vv. 87b and 154).

(4) Raghunandana (1500—1575 A. D.)

As the present writer has fully described Raghunandana's utilisation of the *Yogi-yāj*. in his monograph '*Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors*' (*Asiatic Society*, 1955), he does not intend to repeat it here but refers the readers to his above-mentioned work (pp. 17—18, pp. 124-127).

It may be stated in conclusion that this *Yogi-yājñavalkya-smṛti* is entirely different from the *Yoga-yājñavalkya*, a work on *Yoga*, a critical edition of the latter having been recently published by Mr. P. C. Divanji as supplements to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The atten-

tion of readers is also referred to his paper viz. '*Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya smṛti* and the *Yogi-yājñavalkya*' (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXXIV, 1953, pp. 1—29).

Appendix of the quotations

[N.B.—As all the *Yogi-yāj.* quotations in the K.*R*. are identical with those in *D.S.* and as also the two citations in the *V. K. K.* and the *S. K.* are together the same as the two out of many such in the *Gṛ.* R., so we have omitted the quotations in the *K. R.*, the *V. K. K.* and the *S. K.* from this Appendix and dealt only with those in the *D.S.* and the *Gṛ.* R.]

(1) *D. S.* quotations

D. S. *Yogi-yāj.*

1. p. 52 = 7/37—(योगि–) याज्ञवल्क्यः—'न कुर्यात् ..चाचरन्।'
2. p. 53 = —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'परिधानाद्वहिः ... प्रयत्नतः'।
3. p. 55 = 7/147 & . 149—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'स्त्रीशूद्र ...... पुनर्जपेत्'।
   (2 verses) . . . योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः— विधिदृष्टन्तु ...... दुष्कृतात्मनः।
   (3 verses) (not found in Yogi-yāj.)
4. pp. 56-7=7/148 and 34—तथा च (योगि–) याज्ञवल्क्यः—'यदि वाग्यमलोपः ... स्यादिति श्रुतिः'।
5. p. 63 =7/131-2, 135, 137-39—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'उपांशुजपयुक्तस्य—एकाग्रमनसैव हि'। (The 1st v. not found in Yogi-yāj.)
6. p. 491 =2/67a-68a—सिद्धान्ताश्च योगियाज्ञवल्क्येनोक्ताः। तथा च योगि-याज्ञवल्क्यः–'हैरण्यगर्भैः... सिद्धान्तैरत्र सप्तभिः'।

(2) *Gṛ. R.* quotations (identified ones only)

Gṛ. R. Yogi-yāj.

1. p. 191 = 6/26—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'उभे सन्ध्ये ... च तपस्विभिः'। (Yogi-yāj. reads ब्रह्मवादिना च for तपस्विभिः)
2. pp. 202-3=6/27-30—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'कालदोषाद् ... अन्यथा मार्जनं भवेत्'।

Gṛ. R. *Yogi-yāj.*

3. p. 212 = 7168-9, 170a and 171b —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'योऽसौ विस्तरत :... समुद्दिष्टं महात्मभिः'।

4. p. 217 = 7/154 —(योगि–)याज्ञवल्क्यः . . . . तथा—'अग्राह्यास्त्वागता . . . . . तीर्थाद्विनिःसृताः' ॥

5. p. 219 = 7/40-41—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः · · · · तथा—'यावद्देवान् · · · देवा महर्षयः' ॥

6. p. 223 = 6/1 and 4—तत्र योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि. . . . . अन्त्यजन्मगतोऽपि सन्' ॥

7. p. 225 = 6/11 and 25a—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'ह्रासवृद्धी · · नोदिते रवौ' ॥

8. pp. 225—7=6/5-6, 9, 10b, 12—19a, 20-21—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः –'ओंकारं · · · · · सन्धिरुच्यते' ॥

9. pp. 227—30=6/25b—30, 1/27 (cf. 4/2a and 3b)—पुनर्योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'सन्ध्यात्रयन्तु · · · · · विशेषतः' ॥

10. p. 236 = 6/2 and 8—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'सन्ध्या येन · · · · · · निन्दितः' ॥

11. pp. 237—8 = 8/22—25—तदुक्तं योगियाज्ञवल्क्येन—'नासिकाकृष्ट · · · · · पापनाशनम्' ॥

12. p. 238 = cf. 8/9—पुनर्योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'पूरककुम्भकरेचकैः प्राणायामस्त्रिलक्षणो ज्ञेयः' ।

13. p. 240 = 8/46—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'प्राणत्रयायमनं · · · · · स्मृतम्' ॥

14. p. 243 = 7/140—'ध्यायेत मनसा · · · नैव प्रकाशयेत्' इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्योक्तं मानसजपविषयं मन्तव्यम् ।

Gr. R. *Yogi-yāj.*

15. pp. 243-44 = 7/131-2, 147 and 149 (partly identified)—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'न चंक्रमन्न · · · · · उपधर्मोऽन्य उच्यते' ॥

16. p. 263 = 7/87b—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'सवर्णेभ्यो जलं देयं नान्यवर्णे कदाचन' ।

17. p. 268 = 7/40-41—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'यावद्देवान् · · · महर्षिभिः' ॥
(The same as the 5*th* quotation of the *Gr. R.* on p. 223)

18. p. 268 = 7/44 and 46.—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'वस्त्रनिष्पीडितं · · · · · सुविस्तरम्' ॥

PROLOGUES IN THE BHĀSA PLAYS*

By Dr. G. K. Bhat

The prologues in the Bhāsa plays must be viewed in the light of the dramatic practice prevalent on the Sanskrit stage. Thus viewed, there is a possibility that a proper explanation of their particular character may be furnished.

I

The dramatic practice on the ancient Indian stage reveals three or four distinct phases of development. The oldest practice must naturally have been that enunciated by Bharata. This consisted of an elaborate *pūrvaraṅga* comprising 19 items[1]. The first 9 of these items were performed behind the curtain; the next 10, on the stage in the presence of the audience. Many of these latter items, too, were concerned with music and dance. The items which are significant for the drama proper are *nāndī* (13th), *raṅgadvāra* (16th), *trika* (18th) and *prarocanā* (19th): *Nāndī* was a formal prayer sung to propitiate the gods. In *trika* the Sūtradhāra with the help of the Vidūṣaka and the Pāripārśvika (the three forming the *trika* or trio) introduced by means of light talk, the drama and the dramatist. *Raṅgadvāra* consisted of a verse which was sung to the accompaniment of gestures (*abhinaya*) and was, thus, a foretaste of the dramatic performance. Finally, *prarocanā*, which was the last item of the *pūrvaraṅga*, was an appeal to the audience to secure their interest and attention in the performance. These four items, namely, *nāndī*, *raṅgadvāra*, *trika* and *prarocanā*, which must have been 'written and arranged in a

* Paper submitted to the 19th session of A.I.O.C., Delhi, 1957.

[1] See, Prof. R. B. Athavle's Paper, *The Problem of Nāndī and Pūrvaraṅga*, read before the Classical Section of the A.I.O.C., Ahmedabad, 1953, and published in '*Oriental Thought*' (1954). I am indebted to prof. Athavle for the discussion on the interpretation of theoretical passages.

set form by the director of the dramatic company[2], contain the entire material of the prologue of the drama. This may be called the *pūrvaranga* phase.

The *pūrvaranga* was a very heavy performance and was apt to be tiresome to the audience that had collected mainly to witness the dramatic performance. Bharata himself seems to be aware of this psychological reaction of the audience, and provides for cutting down a good deal of musical portion from the *pūrvaranga*[3] But this was not all. A dramatist must have felt that he should have his own *mangala* and that he should properly introduce his own play and himself to the audience. This desire on the part of a dramatist was quite natural; because, the introduction performed by the manager of the dramatic company must have been more or less of a formal or set pattern. So, while on the one hand the *pūrvaranga* was gradually curtailed, the dramatist, on the other hand, started providing his own benedictory verse and the introduction to his play. Thus, in course of time, there came to be established two *prastāvanās*, as it were; one, that of the Sūtradhāra as an integral part of the *pūrvaranga*, and the other, that of the dramatist himself, written as part of the text of the drama. Both were naturally performed one after the other, and just before the actual dramatic performance. The texts of the extant classical Sanskrit plays do not furnish any open clue to this development of dramatic practice; but the stage-direction, "Then at the conclusion of the *nāndī*, enters the Sūtradhāra'[4], and the Sūtradhāra's statement, 'Enough of prolixity'[5], at the beginning of his prose speech, found in many plays, are significant pointers in this direction. In fact, they cannot be properly explained unless the older and elaborate *pūrvaranga* is pre-

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, GOS, V. 165—167.

[4] Cf. 'नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः।'

[5] Cf. 'अलमतिविस्तरेण' etc.

sumed to have been performed earlier. It is not, however, necessary to depend upon inference only for this conclusion; for, the testimony of Abhinava clearly vouches for the existence of the two *prastāvanās* on the Sanskrit stage.[6] This may be called the phase of the double *prastāvanā*.

When the two prologues existed side by side on the Sanskrit stage, the normal practice probably was that the Sūtradhāra performed the *pūrvaraṅga* and departed; then another person, like the Sūtradhāra, from the dramatic company, appeared on the stage and performed the prologue of the dramatist.[7] From this point of view, the dramatist's prologue can properly be called *sthāpanā*, and the actor who performed it can be called Sthāpaka, since this was *establishing* the author's prologue. There is an indirect testimony derived from some plays which contain these particular names and which thus suggest the particular dramatic practice.[8]

This practice of the double *prastāvanā* must have continued for some time. But the superfluity of one of the prologues was quite obvious; and it was natural that one of them should have been dropped. In this struggle the dramatist seems to have won in the end. The *pūrvaraṅga*, already suffering a process of curtailment, came to be dropped completely, and the dramatist's prologue was established

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[6] See, Abhinava's *Comm.* on NŚ., V. 180 (GOS, pp. 251—152).

[7] Cf. (a) *NŚ.*, GOS, V. 172=173, pp. 249-250:

प्रयुज्य विधिनैवं तु पूर्वरंगं प्रयोगतः ।।
स्थापकः प्रविशेत् तत्र सूत्रधारगुणाकृतिः ।

(b) *Daśarūpaka*, III. 2 :

पूर्वरंगं विधायादौ सूत्रधारे विनिर्गते ।
प्रविश्य तद्वदपरः काव्यमास्थापयेन्नटः ।।

(c) *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI, 26 :

पूर्वरंगं विधायैवं सूत्रधारो निवर्तते ।
प्रविश्य स्थापकस्तद्वत् काव्यमास्थापयेत्ततः ।।

[8] Cf., for instance, the Prologues in *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara, and *Abhinavarāghava* of Kṣīraswāmin. See, also Prof. Athavle's Paper, op. cit.

in its place. Now, the entire prologue, including the *nāndī*, was written by the dramatist; and it was performed by the director of the dramatic company. This development, when the prologue of the dramatist took the place of the old *pūrvaraṅga*, may be called the phase of the dramatist's prologue. This development is recorded by Viśvanātha.[9]

It appears that, though the *pūrvaraṅga* was dropped, an exception was made in the case of the *nāndī* which was allowed to remain as an essential element of the ceremonial opening of the drama.[10] The *nāndī*, however, was written by the dramatist himself; only he attempted to model it on the lines suggested by Bharata; and it was shown separated, as it were, in the text as a mark of deference to Bharata.

When the dramatist's prologue was established on the stage, a few variations only were possible in the dramatic practice. They are recorded by Rucipati.[11] According to him, the dramatist's *nāndī* was sung by some one and then the Sūtradhāra entered to perform the dramatist's prologue; sometimes, the Sūtradhāra, himself known by the name of Nāndī, sang the *nāndī* verse from behind the curtain and then entered to perform the rest of the prologue.

II

The prologues in the Bhāsa plays reveal the following characteristics on an analytical examination:

1. They begin with a *nāndī* invocation; the only exception is *Cārudatta* which does not contain the *nāndī* verse.

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[9] Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. Viśvanātha's comm. on VI, 25. See, also *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, GOS, p. 155.

[10] Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. 23:

प्रत्याहारादिकान्यंगान्यस्य (पूर्वरंगस्य) भूयांसि यद्यपि।
तथाप्यवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी विघ्नोपशान्तये॥

[11] Rucipati's Comm. on *Anarghyarāghava* by Murāri, Kāvyamālā No. 5, pp. 7-8.

2. Paronamastic phrasing (technically, the figure of speech known as *Mudrā*) is used in the *nāndī* verse to suggest the names of the *dramatis personae* in 5 out of the 13 plays (namely, *Svapna*, *Pratijñā*, *Pratimā*, *Pañcarātra* and *Ūrubhaṅga*).

3. The gods invoked in the *nāndī* verses are :

(i)	Balarāma	: *Svapna*.
(ii)	Skanda	: *Pratijñā*.
(iii)	Rāma	: The two *Rāmayaṇa* plays, namely, *Pratimā*, *Abhiṣeka*.
(iv)	Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa	: All the *Mahābhārata plays* and, *Bālacarita* and *Avimāraka*.

4. The prologues are called *sthāpanā*.

5. The technique employed in the prologues shows some variations :

(A) Monologue is used, and only the Sūtradhāra appears in 7 plays. Here, the procedure is:

(i) The Sūtradhāra is about to address the audience, when he hears 'some kind of noise';

(ii) This is followed by an utterance behind the curtain;

(iii) In an attempt to explain the 'noise' and the utterance, the Sūtradhāra introduces—

(a) the character that opens the main scene (*Svapna*, *Karṇabhāra*, *Bālacarita*);

(b) the main scene (*Pañcarātra*, *Madhyamavyāyoga*, *Dūtavākya*);

(c) the background of the play (*Dūtaghaṭotkaca*).

(B) Dialogue is used in the remaining 6 plays; but here there are further variations.

(a) In *Abhiṣeka* and *Ūrubhaṅga*, the Pāripārśvika, or the Assistant, figures with the Sūtra-

dhāra. There is a reference to the 'noise' in both the plays. But—

(i) in *Abhiṣeka*, it is described by the Assistant as an 'ear-splitting' noise, and he questions the Sūtradhāra about it.

(ii) In attempting to explain the cause of the noise, the Sūtradhāra summarises the background and introduces the event and characters of the main scene.

(iii) In *Ūrubhaṅga*, the source of the noise is the movements of the soldiers on the battlefield. In answering the question of the Assistant about the movements, the Sūtradhāra introduces the topic of the mace-fight.

(b) In *Pratijñā*, *Avimāraka*, *Pratimā* and *Cārudatta*, it is the Naṭī who appears along with the Sūtradhāra. The variations here are as follows:

(1) In *Pratijñā* and *Pratimā*, the Naṭī is asked to sing a song.

(i) In *Pratimā*, she actually sings; then there is an utterance behind the curtain;

(ii) In *Pratijñā*, she does not sing because she is worried about a bad dream which has made her apprehensive about the well-being of the relatives; the Sūtradhāra promises to send a messenger; Then there is an utterance behind the curtain.

(iii) In both these plays, however, the Sūtradhāra's verse which follows the utterance behind the curtain, contains a simile which helps to introduce the character that opens the main scene.

(2) In *Avimāraka* and *Cārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra and Naṭī converse with each other.

(i) In *Avimāraka*, the Naṭī expresses a desire to go to the park;

Immediately, there is an announcement behind the curtain;

The character referred to in the announcement appears in the *second* scene after the opening of the first act.

(ii) In *Cārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra and Naṭī are talking about food and religious fast; An invitation is given to a Brāhmaṇa; The Brāhmaṇa who is the Vidūṣaka in the play, opens the main scene.

III

The apparent simplicity and the similarity of pattern that is discernible in these prologues may lead some one to assume that they are written and arranged by the manager of the dramatic company. In other words, they may belong to the *pūrvaraṅga* phase. Such an assumption is bound to be erroneous, and for a number of reasons :

(i) The paronamastic phrasing employed in the *nāndī* verse of some of these plays, however artificial it may be, is too clever for the manager of the dramatic company; much less can we think of its repetition with appropriate variations in word and sense.

(ii) The fact that the other plays have a distinct *nāndī* verse of their own belies the assumption of a conventional set pattern.

(iii) A little consideration will show that there is a particular appropriateness about the *nāndī* verses : (a) The equivocal verses, of course, suggest the characters in the particular plays, and contain a remote reference to the story in them. (b) The god invoked in each verse is appropriate

to the theme of the play: The theme of the *Svapna* is concerned with *bala*; both the *strength* of intellect and of army are required to reinstate the hero on his lost throne and to bring about a happy reunion of the deliberately separated lovers. *Pratijñā* is a play of bold strategy and daring adventure on the part of the Minister; moreover, it is *a play without a heroine*. The invocation to Skanda is, therefore, both appropriate and significant. The two Rāmāyaṇa plays invoke Rāma, who is a god and also the hero of the plays. The same consideration applies to the *Bālacarita*, where Dāmodara is the hero of the play and an incarnation of god. The Mahābhārata playsi nvoke Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in one form or the other; and this is natural because the Mahābhārata story is dominated by the personality of Kṛṣṇa who is definitely conceived as a godhead. Especially significant is the invocation in the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*, where Nārāyaṇa is described as the Sūtradhāra of the drama of the three worlds. The theme of this play is concerned with the uncertain issue of political negotiations the end of which can be forestalled by a divine agency only. Further, the theme is a new creation of the author; and while presenting it on the stage, what is natural but he should invoke the god as a Sūtradhāra? In *Avimāraka* Viṣṇu is invoked probably for a double reason: The real name of the hero is Viṣṇusena; the royal families seem to be connected with Viṣṇu, since Nārada actually appears on the scene to advise the father of the heroine on the question of her marriage.

(iv) The gods invoked in these plays are nearly identical, with the exception of *Pratijñā* only. Balarāma who is invoked in the *Svapna* is in fact the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa; the identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu is open; but the identity of Rāma with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa is also clearly assumed in the *nāndī* verses of the *Avimāraka* and of the *Bālacarita*; in fact, the *nāndī* of the *Bālacarita* is remarkable for the identification of Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (Dāmodara), who are

conceived as the four *avatāras* in the four *yugas*.[12] This should lead us to suppose that the deity invoked is not only appropriate (*samucita*) to the theme of each play, but it is a favourite deity (*iṣṭa*) of the author as well.

(v) The technique with which the prologues are presented is simple and nearly uniform in many of these plays. And yet, there are remarkable variations. There is monologue used in some plays, and dialogue in others; in this latter form there are further variations.

(vi) It is noteworthy that the technique of Kālidāsa's prologues bears a striking resemblance to that of Bhāsa's prologues. Kālidāsa addresses his *nāndī* verses to his own favourite deity. He uses the technique of referring to 'noise' behind the curtain, and in explanation of it by the Sūtradhāra suggests the opening scene of the play *Vikramorvaśīya*. In *Śākuntala*, the Naṭī sings a song; expressing his appreciation of her performance the Sūtradhāra uses a simile which introduces the scene and the character with which the play opens.[13] It is presumable that Kālidāsa is influenced

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[12] *Avimāraka*, I, 1 c : 'सम्भुक्तां प्रीतिपूर्वं स्वभुजवशगतामेकचक्राभिगुप्तां (वसुधां)'।

This is taken as a reference to the incarnation of Rāma. *Bālacarita*, I. 1 :

शङ्खक्षीरवपुः पुरा कृतयुगे नाम्ना तु नारायण-
स्त्रेतायां त्रिपदार्पितत्रिभुवनो विष्णुः सुवर्णप्रभः।
दूर्वाश्यामनिभः स रावणवधे रामो युगे द्वापरे
नित्यं योऽञ्जनसंनिभः कलियुगे वः पातु दामोदरः॥

[13] Read : (i) सूत्रधारः—(कर्णं दत्वा) अये, किं नु खलु मद्विज्ञापनानन्तरं (v.l. विज्ञापनाव्यग्रे मयि आर्तानां) कुररीणामिवाकाशे शब्दः श्रूयते।···
(विचिन्त्य) भवतु। ज्ञातम्।
ऊरुद्भवा नरसखस्य मुनेः सुरस्त्री कैलासनाथमुपसृत्य निवर्तमाना।
बन्दीकृता विबुधशत्रुभिरर्धमार्गे क्रन्दत्यतः शरणमप्सरसां गणोऽयम्॥
V : k. I. 4.

(ii) तवास्मि गीतरागेण हारिणा प्रसभं हृतः।
एष राजेव दुष्यन्तः सारंगेणातिरंहसा॥ Śāk. 1. 5.

by the technique of Bhāsa, and is not adopting the mode of *pūrvaraṅga* set by the dramatic companies.

(vii) It is clear that the prologue as a whole, including the *nāndī* verse, is used in all the Bhāsa plays for suggesting the characters, event, background, the opening scene or the character who begins the first act, all connected with the dramatic story. Such a suggestive mode would appear to be beyond the capacity and purpose of the manager of a dramatic company.

(viii) Finally, these prologues bear a particular name, *sthāpanā*, which also reveals the hand of a dramatist.

These considerations lead to two inferences :

(1) The Bhāsa prologues are the creations of the dramatist.

(2) They cannot be put down to the *pūrvaraṅga* phase.

IV

There is no doubt that Bhāsa is an early author, who definitely preceded Kālidāsa. The question, therefore, is whether the Bhāsa prologues can be put down to the phase of double *prastāvanā*.

There are some considerations that seem to indicate the contrary : Though the Bhāsa prologues do not belong to the *pūrvaraṅga* phase, yet they differ from the prologues of the classical Sanskrit plays in some important details :

(i) The Bhāsa prologues begin with the Sūtradhāra and then the *nāndī* verse follows, while all the classical plays begin with the *nāndī* verse and the stage-direction that immediately follows indicates that the Sūtradhāra enters after the singing of the *nāndī* is over.

It is not only the reader of the present day who is struck by this peculiarity of the Bhāsa prologues; Bāṇa has noticed it as well.[14] But barring the particular position of

[14] *Harṣacarita*, I : सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

the *nāndī* verse, there is *apparently* nothing that distinguishes the Bhāsa prologues from the prologues of the common classical plays. If, therefore, the mention made by Bāṇa were to have any sense, it should refer to a kind of departure from the common dramatic practice that Bāṇa must have known from personal experience or knowledge. And this suggests that Bhāsa was responsible for starting an innovation in the dramatic practice.

The innovation appears to be this: The Bhāsa plays begin with the stage-direction, 'The Sūtradhāra enters after the *nāndī* is over.' Then comes the *nāndī* verse which, as we have seen, is composed by Bhāsa. This means that the Bhāsa plays reveal the practice when the *pūrvaraṅga* and the dramatist's prologue existed side by side. Accordingly, the Sūtradhāra finishes his *pūrvaraṅga* items and then begins the performance of the dramatist's prologue, beginning with the *nāndī*. The normal practice at this stage was that the Sūtradhāra performed the *pūrvaraṅga*, and *another* actor called Sthāpaka performed the dramatist's prologue. Bhāsa has named his prologues *sthāpanā*, appropriately; but he seems to have entrusted their performance to the Sūtradhāra only; so that *in the Bhāsa plays the Sūtradhāra performed both the pūrvaraṅga and the dramatist's prologue as well.* This was a departure from the practice known to Bāṇa, and, therefore, he must have felt that it deserved mention.[15]

Apart from this peculiar opening, these prologues have two other distinctive features :

(ii) They do not contain the name of the play and of the author.

(iii) They also do not possess the familiar type of *prarocanā*, which we find in all the extant plays and which, in fact, is a direct appeal to the audience with a view to securing their best attention. The Sūtradhāra in the Bhāsa prologues says that he is disturbed by a noise as he is engaged

[15] *Ibid.*

in making an appeal to the audience;[16] but the actual appeal is not to be found in any of these plays!

V

A possible explanation of these peculiar features can now be given on the following lines:

While Bhāsa wrote his own prologues and started the practice of entrusting their performance to the Sūtradhara himself, the structure of the prologues suggests that some significant items of the *pūrvaranga* were continued to be performed in the older way; and that it was for this reason that Bhāsa did not repeat them in his own prologue.

The item *trika* of the *pūrvaraṅga* was intended to introduce the author and his play; and the *prarocanā* was an appeal to the audience. The absence of these details in the Bhāsa prologues probably means that they were done in the *pūrvaranga* and hence, Bhāsa did not think it necessary to mention the name of the author and of the play again, and make a fresh appeal to the audience. What was perhaps necessary was to give a few more details about the play itself, since the introduction in the *trika* would, by its nature, be of a general character. So, by means of the *nāndī* verse, sometimes, Bhāsa would suggest the names of the characters in the play; and by suggestive hints in the Sūtradhāra's speech he would indicate some event or the background of the play, and introduce the opening scene. This additional information would surely be helpful to the audience.

When, however, the *pūrvaraṅga* came to be neglected and gradually dropped altogether, it was absolutely necessary for the dramatist to introduce his own name, that of the play, and make an appeal to the audience too; that is to say, the dramatist had to construct a full prologue, not only with his own *nāndī* verse, but with the inclusion of the business

[16] The usual statement is :

किं नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते।

of the *trika* and especially the *prarocanā* as well. Apparently it was not necessary for Bhāsa to include the *trika* and *prarocanā* items.[17]

I am, therefore, inclined to infer that the Bhāsa plays belong to the *transitional period between the pūrvaraṅga phase and the phase of the double prastāvanā*. This was the period when some items of the *pūrvaraṅga* were performed and the dramatist had also started putting in his own *nāndī* verse, together with a small introduction. This, and the probable transitional period, should explain the similarity in the prologues of many of these plays. But since the names of the author and the play were given in the *pūrvaraṅga* and an appeal to the audience was also made, (in the item, *prarocanā*), the dramatist contented himself with putting in his own *nāndī* verse, and adding a few suggestive details about the play itself.

Bhāsa seems to have relied on the current dramatic practice, introducing a few innovations only of his own, some of them, like the mode of suggesting the opening scene, were adopted by the dramatists that followed; and some, like the Sūtradhāra performing the entire prologue of the dramatist, underwent minor variations in the following period. But Bhāsa must have left a mark of his own on the dramatic practice.

This is a probable explanation of the peculiar features of the Bhāsa prologues. The explanation lends additional support to the fact that Bhāsa is a very early writer. And, further, it brings the plays closer together, suggesting common authorship.

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[17] The authors of the *Nāṭyadarpàṇa* write:

अस्माभिस्तु स्वतो लोकप्रसिद्धत्वात् गन्न्यासस्य च निष्फलत्वात् (पूर्वरंग-अंगानि) ··· उपेक्षितामि । प्ररोचना तु पूर्वरङ्गाङ्गाभूतेऽपि नाट्ये प्रवृत्तौ प्रधानमंगमिति लक्ष्यते। ND., GOS, p. 155.

Although the illustration quoted of *prarocanā* is from an extant play, (*Abhinavarāghava* by Kṣīraswāmin), and not from *pūrvaraṅga*, the remark is surely indicative of a dramatic practice when, along with the dramatist's prologue, items like *prarocanā* were performed in the *pūrvaraṅga* stage. Our assumption, therefore, would not be imaginary.

BAUDHĀYANA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA PRAŚNA II—A FRESH STUDY*

By ŚRĪ C. G. KASHIKAR,

1. IN a previous article I had pointed out[1] that the present text of the *Agnyādheya* portion of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (*Baudh-ŚS*) does not stand in the proper order. I had also proposed therein the readjustment of the Sūtra-portion according to which the order of the various *Kaṇḍikās* of Praśna II of the Sūtra-work omitting *Kaṇḍikās* 5-7 considered as interpolatory would be as follows:—12-14; 1; 3; 4; 2; 8-11; 15-21. The following are the contents of the respective *Kaṇḍikās*:—*Kaṇḍikā* 12—Preliminary arrangements of *agnyādheya*, *Kaṇḍikās* 13, 14—The *Brahmaudana* rite. *Kaṇḍikā* 1—Pronouncement of the sacrificer's desire to set up the fires. *Kaṇḍikā* 3, 4 choosing of the officiating priests. *Kaṇḍikā* 2—Begging of the sacrificial place from the officiating priests. *Kaṇḍikās* 8-11—*Gopitṛyajña*. *Kaṇḍikās* 15-21—Churning out of the fire and setting up of the sacred fires. I propose to present here a further study of the problem.

2. In the previous article the pronouncement of the sacrificer's desire to set up the sacred fires, selection of the officiating priests and begging of the sacrificial place were said to be taking place on the day preceding the day on which the sacred fires are to be set up. As a matter of fact, the pronouncement ought to take place on the preliminary day, that is, one year before the day of setting up the sacred fires, or 12 or 6 or 3 nights before that. Because the general

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[1] cf. *The text-problem of the Baudhāyana Ādhāna Sūtra*, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXIX. 1948 pp. 107-17.

ritual-practice is that the pronouncement of the desire to perform any sascrificial act has to be done at the very beginning of that act. The author of the *Subodhini* commentary on the *Baudh- ŚS*[2] says : सर्वेषां कर्मणामाधानस्य चोपव्याहरणपूर्वकत्वात् etc. The occasion for pronouncing the desire to set up the sacred fires should, therefore, be the very first day when the preliminary arrangements, namely, the erection of the sacrificial pandal and collecting the materials, are made. At the pronouncement of his desire, the sacrificer makes the priests (who are not yet formally chosen) seated to his north facing eastwards[3]. He begs of them the accomplishment of his desire by saying तन्म ऋध्यतां तन्मेसमृध्यतां तन्मे संपद्यतां कामः। To this the priests respond by saying तत्त ऋध्यतां तत्ते समृध्यतां संपद्यतां कामः। The author of *Baudhāyanīya Ādhānapaddhati* says : वरणार्हान् ऋत्विजः प्रत्याह तन्म ऋध्यतां etc.

After the pronouncement of his desire the sacrificer chooses his officiating priests and then begs of them the sacrificial place. In the present Sūtra-text the pronouncement is followed by the choosing of the sacrificial place and that again is followed by the choosing of the officiating priests. This discrepancy did not escape the notice of the ancient commentators. The author of the *Subodhinī* commentary says :

यद्यपि प्रथममभिहितं तथापि ऋत्विक्षु आध्वर्यवादिरूपविशेषनिर्णयस्य वरणानन्तरभावित्वात् वरणान्तरमेव देवयजनयाचनमवगंतव्यम्। एवं च वरणविध्यन्तनरं देवयजनयाचनं सूचयितु युक्तमित्याभिप्रायेण उक्तं भाष्ये—देवयजनयाचनमुत्तरोग्रन्थ इति।

This necessitates a slight modification in the order of the *Kaṇḍikās* proposed previously, namely, that *Kaṇḍikās* 13 and 14 should be taken up after *Kaṇḍikā* 2. Thus the order of the various *Kaṇḍikās* would be :—*Baudh-ŚS II.* 12, 1, 3-4, 2, 13-14, 8-11, 15-21.

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[2] 2.1.

[3] The *Subodhinī* says : आत्मन उत्तरतः प्राङमुखान् ऋत्विज उपवेश्य उपव्याहरणम्।

3. There is evidence to show that *Baudh-ŚS II* 1-11 probably did not form part of the original Sūtra-text; these *Kaṇḍkas* might have been added later on. This addition, which is of threefold or fourfold character, might not necessarily have been made at different periods. Contrary to the expectation, this addition was made to the beginning rather than to the ending portion. The portion of *gopitṛyajña* (*Baudh-ŚS II* 8-11) was put before *Baudh-ŚŚ* II 12 with which the *Ādhāna Sūtra* really commenced. The *Karmānta*-like portions (*Baudh-ŚS* II. 6-7) were, for some reason or the other, put before *Baudh-ŚS II*. 8. The formulas called *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ* or *Siṁhānuvāka*[4] which are to be recited by the sacrificer for self-purification prior to the *gopitṛyajña*, were placed before *Baudh-ŚS* II. 6 and lastly the four *Kaṇḍikās* dealing with the pronouncement of desire (to set up the fires), the choosing of the sacrificial place and the choosing of the officiating priests were placed before *Baudh-ŚS* II. 5. A comparison of *Baudh-ŚS* with the *Bhāradvāja* and the *Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtras* shows that the opening rites of *Agnyādheya* as given in these Sūtra texts practically agree with *Baudh-ŚS II*.12. Those Sūtra-texts contain nothing which is parallel to *Baudh-ŚS* II. 1-11. The main reason pointing to the supplementary character of *Baudh-ŚS*. II. 1-11 is that the Dvaidha Sūtra, which goes parallel to the original Sūtra-text and which was the first to follow the same, does not take its cognisance. There is no Sūtra in the Dvaidha, which, discusses the ritual .given in that portion. It can hardly be said that the Dvaidha did not refer to it because there was nothing to add to it or discuss about it.

4. Prof. Caland has already discussed the problem of the comparative chronology of the *Baudh-ŚS*. He has pointed out that thereis not much difference of time among

[4] *Baudh ŚS* II. 5

[5] *Baudh ŚS* II.1-4.

[6] cf. *Das Rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, Lepzig, 1903.

the various parts of Baudhāyana's Sūtras; however, the original *Śrauta-Sūtra*, the Dvaidha, the Karmānta and the *Gṛhya-Sūtra* were composed successively. According to this view, the original *Śrauta-Sūtra* was composed no doubt before all the other portions. But *Baudh-ŚS* II 1-11 did not probably form part of the same. It is quite possible, as suggested by Caland, that the various chapters of this Śrauta work remained without enumeration for a long time. It is, therefore, not improbable that *gopitṛyaiña-sūtra*[7], even though composed perhaps contemporarily, remained outside the fold of the original Sūtra-text[8]. The *gopitṛyajña* is not found in the Taittirīya recension to which the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* belongs. It is also not found in any other Sūtra-text. The other Śrauta Sūtras belonging to the Taittirīya recension have not given this rite. A reference to the killing of a cow is however, found in them in a different context, namely, in the ritual pertaining to the sacrifice for Agni to be performed after the setting up of the sacred fires. The *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*[9] mentions the killing of a cow won in the game of dice-arranged in connection with the sacrifice for Agni, and distributing her flesh among the playmates. The *Kāṭhaka-Śrauta-Sūtra* is unfortunately lost. It appears that the *Gopitṛyajña*, which might have been introduced by some Vedic clan, was also adopted by the followers of the Baudhayana school probably due to close cultural contact and was, therefore, admitted as an obligatory rite in the same. *Gopitṛyajña* is not in disagreement with the spirit of general ritual practice of the Vedic period.

5. The text of *Baudh-ŚS* II 5-7 has already been discussed[10] and the interpolatory character of the same has

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[7] *Baudh*-ŚS II.8-11.

[8] It is worth while noting that the original Sūtra-portion of *Baudh* ŚS.II. 15 contains a few Sūtras which, even though out of place, discuss about the suitability of killing a cow in the *gopitrṛyajña*.

[9] 8, 7.गां घ्नन्ति तां विदीव्यन्ते तां सभासद्भ्य उपहरन्ति ।

[10] *ABORI*, XXIX pp. 111-112.

been brought out. Out of that, *Baudh-ŚS* II 6-7 bears the character of the Karmānta Sūtra and gives additional information about the time for setting up the sacred fires, the collection of materials, the procuring of the Brahmaudanika fire, the ancillary sacrifices and the Dakṣiṇā; in short it discusses many things pertaining to the entire *Agnyādheya* ritual. It cannot be said to have been a regular part of the Karmānta Sūtra, since it does not fit in with the order of the same. Hence this part may be said to have been composed later than the Karmānta Sūtra itself and, for some reason, placed before the portion of *gopitṛyajña*.

6. As for *Baudh-ŚS* II. 1-4, it cannot be decided whether these four *kaṇḍikās* might have been added at one stage or at two different stages. The fact that the *kaṇḍikā* relating to the begging of the sacrificial place precedes the *Kaṇḍikās* relating to the choosing of the officiating priests would, of course, go in favour of the latter possibility. An important point in favour of supposing the later addition of *Baudh-ŚS* II 1-4 is that that portion does not fit in with the remaining portions of the Sūtra-text. According to that portion, the sacrificer is required to pronounce his desire to set up the sacred fires, and so on, which presumes that the sacrificer has already taken his bath and has performed other morning rites. This, however, does not concur with the order of the ritual given in *Baudh-ŚS* II. 12 according to which the sacrificer is required to fix up the places for the sacred fires in his fire-chamber, sprinkle them with water, get himself shaved, (bathe), wear new garments and partake of the food.

To sum up : The order of the various *kaṇḍikās* in Praśna II of *Baudh-ŚS* from the ritual point of view should be as follows : *ŚS* II. 12, 1, 3-4, 2, 13-14, 8-11, 15-21. There is moreover, evidence to show that *Baudh-ŚS* II. L-11 did not form part of the original Sūtra and was added later on.

A MEMOIR OF F. W. THOMAS

By MĀHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. P. K. ACHARYA

PROFESSOR Dr. F. W. Thomas died in peaceful sleep in April 1956 in a hospital. Mrs. E. G. Thomas, his devoted wife and life companion, wrote—"My husband F. W. Thomas had a short illness but I knew he was fading—his wheel of life had turned down last year (1955) before he went to Rome. His hearing was going and this year (1956) he became stone deaf and he had other troubles in March and April. He was working at an Index in April. He died in his sleep at 7 p.m. in hospital. I tried to keep him here at home but it was not to be. He was taken to hospital on Friday and died on Sunday. He was cremated at the Oxford crematorium."

It may be assumed that his earthly remains were 'cremated', and not intermed as is the usual custom, at his express wish. The life expired at sunset at 7 p.m. in April. His last journey to Rome, the holy *Tīrtha* of the Christians, was purposely undertaken at the age of 88 when "his wheel of life had turned down." Since his return from this pilgrimage he became detached, like a Hindu Ṛṣi, to his home and hearth but struggled to finish "an Index" in April when he died. He named his only son as 'Ren' which means in Latin twice-born (dvija); he is now an expert "consultant Ear, Nose and Throat in York and has four children." His only other descendant is named "Hellene" a general name for Greeks; she has married Professor E. K. Waterlzure and has two girls. Thus Professor Thomas combined in him the three leading Āryan cultures—Sanskrit, Latin and Greek.

Mrs. Thomas writes, "My husband's last work is about ancient Folk-Lore of India and is being published

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by Hartmann of Berlin. There is also an unpublished book on the Zan Zune language. Miss Thompson (India Office Library) and Professor Kahle are dealing with them... there is his vast library... Oxford may have the oriental books they have chosen, Heffer of Cambridge the others." Indian culture was uppermost in his thought. His versatile genius was enriched by his intimacy with Latin and Greek civilization. Oxford and Cambridge have equally shared his gifts. But he was attached to India perhaps owing to his origin from some family of Ṛṣi (Seer) in his previous birth.

On February 2, 1953 he wrote (from his home, Limen, Bodicote, near Oxford) "In publishing '900 double crown' pages of 'Glories of India', of which I have seen a prospectus, you have certainly made a fitting use of your retired leisure and have served the Indian people with the same devotion and talents which you had been applying to the University. The ancient civilization of India is not, however, only 'glories of India', though that indeed it is, but in my view a continuation, in some respects uniquely valuable, to the deepening, rationalizing and harmonizing of mind and conduct in humanity at large : it calls not merely for commemoration but also for continuing study and realization". Despite failing health and heavy correspondence he read the book thoroughly and wrote to me on August 16, 1953—"I have had another spell of reading your book, which by the mass of its detailed matter attests a really heroic labour on your part and demands a strong intellectual digestion on the part of the reader. Although my highest regard is for the profound ideas and basic truths originated by India in most spheres of thought, I can understand that for Indians themselves the vast and multifarious array of their traditional culture,. .... . its ground-work of their lives, should be the most imposing and inspiring object of contemplation. Its momentum may carry it

substantially unimpaired through our modern vicissitudes and your book may often supply arguments in appreciation of its worth."

Professor Thomas seems to have been the admirer of our family life of sacraments and sacrifices also. On hearing of the Upanayana (initiation), and marriage ceremonies of my only daughter and two sons he wrote (on January 20, 1952)—"with daughter also married and two sons now provided with careers you are manifestly *Puṇya bhāgin*." This Hindu ideal of life seems to have been practised by both my Professor and Mrs. Thomas. Their son Ren and daughter Hellene were brought up and married as any Hindu parents would do. And Professor Thomas must have felt himself Puṇyabhāgin by performing the parental duties satisfactorily.

Professor Uhlenbeck and his wife of Leiden, Holland, imbibed Hindu mode of living in a more orthodox manner. This couple used to pray in Sanskrit, the former reciting an appropriate Vedic line and the latter a classical one, before meal, the first morsel of which must be boiled rice (anna). Professor and Mrs. Thomas did not perhaps follow this practice. But they also practised hospitality as one of the five daily duties of a house-holder. Innumerable Indian and non-Indian Indologists used to visit him during a period of 50 years when he worked as the Librarian of the India Office in London. He never neglected to entertain them to some meal at his home which was always far away from the crowded city and situated like a hermitage in quiet surroundings. He wrote to me :- "Neither my wife nor I forget old friends. We both vividly remember your first visit to our bungalow in Surrey, and your stay in London (in 1933) along with your dear wife; and my own thoughts go back also to many occasions during your student time in London (1914—18), not forgetting Leiden (1917-18) and especially to happy days as guest in your fine and truly

Indian mansion in Allahabad with the comely and lively young brood'.

Much like a lost child in a storm I was presented dramatically to Professor F. W. Thomas on October 7, 1914, two months after the World War I was started, by Sir Thomas Arnold who was then the Adviser for Indian students to the Secretary of State for India, Austin Chamberlain. Dr. Arnold was then in charge of the Indian students section of the India Office. Equally dramatic was my embarkation from Bombay on September 12. In appreciation of my unusually good result of M. A. Examination in 1913 I was selected as Principal of the Riṣikula College at Hardwar, of which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji was the President of the Managing Committee. Within six months of my appointment at Hardwar the Government of India State scholarship for the advanced study of Sanskrit abroad on scientific lines was awarded to me. I left the Principalship in July although I was not certain if I could cross the prohibited sea especially during the life time of my octogenarian grandfather (Lakshmi Charan Vidyalankara). Before reaching home the sad news of his death reached me. But the World War I broke out on August 7, 1914 and the Secretary of State for India advised the Indian Government not to send students abroad until the passage could be made secure as several passenger steamers had already been torpedoed. We, however, reached London safely. But Sir Thomas Arnold got upset at the arrival, especially of language students including myself. I had been intended to study under Professor Hultz at Gottingen, Germany, against whom the United Kingdom had declared War. Thus Dr. Arnold got upset and took me to Dr. Thomas at the India Office Library for consultation about my. study.

At that time Dr. Thomas was a part-time lecturer of Philology and Dr. L. D. Barnett of British Museum a

part-time Professor of Sanskrit at the University of London where I was admitted as an internal student and permitted to proceed direct to the D.Litt course under the supervi sion of Dr. Barnett and also to study philology under Dr. Thomas. Additional grants were made for the study of Latin, Greek, French and German. Troubles arose in selecting a suitable subject of research for D.Litt. thesis. E. B. Havell, the great scholar of Indian arts suggested the exploration. of *Mānasāra-śilpaśāstra*. Dr. Thomas undertook to collect through the good office of the Secretary of State for India all the Mss. known to exist in India, and European libraries and institutions. Thus I was provided with eleven fragmentary and badly preserved Mss., on one of which referring to first dozen chapters out of the total of seventy chapters the Madras Judge Ramraj wrote his Essay on Southern temples in 1834. The Mss. were written in five different scripts in a language rightly castigated by Dr. Buhler and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as "barbarous Sanskrit". Sir Ganganatha Jha, like Buhler and Bhandarkar, had to give up the attempt in disgust to make out any sense. After struggling for two years I was about to give up the efforts when the authorities of the London university suggested that I should "make a full dictionary of all architectural terms used in the *Mānasāra*, with explanations in English and illustrative quotations from cognate literature where available for the purpose." This 'cognate literature' comprised the entire vedic and post-vedic Sanskrit literature, the Pali canonical books of the Buddhist and the Prakrit literature of the Jainas. The vast field of the śilpaśāstra and other technical literature had to be ransacked. And the entire Purāṇas of north and Āgamas of the south had to be searched line by line. Still it frustrated proper elucidation of architectural terms which swelled to some three thousand by new additions from these sources.

At this stage the condition of the war did not permit uninterrupted work in the India office library on the top floor of the Whitehall wherefrom at the sound of alarm bell for air raids all had to run for shelter. In consultation with Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology, Professor Thomas had already fixed up an appointment for me at Madras. And he suggested that I could more easily complete a Thesis on Philology dealing with the indiscriminate use of Pañcamī and Ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktis (suffix) in epics and classical Sanskrit and return to India.

But the desirability of completing the research on the *Mānasāra* was more tempting. And the Secretary of State for India readily accepted the suggestion of his Adviser (Sir Thomas Arnold who himself was a great scholar of Arabic and sometime Principal of the M.A.O. College at Aligarh) to extend my scholarship and send me to Leyden University and enable me to work under the supervision of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who was, in Arnold's time in India, the Director-General of Archaeology. As a great Statesman Mr. Austin Chamberlain further wanted to get the doors of Dutch universities opened to Indian students because such students could no longer be sent to German Universities. A doctor's degree at a Dutch University entitled the recipient for their home and Colonial Civil Service like Indian I. C. S. Thus Chamberlain wanted to send a student and get this double function of a University altered. I could be awarded their doctor's degree by a Royal Warrant. Now they have changed their old regulations.

At Leyden I completed the study of the remaining colossal archaeological material by going through some 50,000 pages of epigraphical records. This source made the literary description of the *Mānasāra*, Āgamas, Purāṇas and other literature perfectly clear to me because the discovery of an inscription on a monument or a part thereof makes its identification beyond any doubt. Thus, for instance,

Professor Rapson of the Cambridge University and Professor Macdonell of Oxford who, along with Dr. Barnett, were the examiners of my thesis for D.Lit., enthusiastically accepted the architectural meaning of 'janman' (birth) as the 'plinth' (the first part of a wall). The Dutch scholars are traditional lovers of archaeology. They gave the first welcome to a summary of the *Mānasāra* which they accepted for my Ph.D. degree, which later was enlarged and developed into Vol. II of the *Mānasāra* series. Volume I of the series—*A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, was accepted by the London University for my D.Lit. degree.

On my return to London from Holland Professor Thomas informed me that the Dutch had officially informed the Secretary of State for India that on the strength of a Royal Warrant I had been awarded their Doctorate which entitled a Dutch graduate to join their Colonial Civil Service. Thus my name was included in the list of I. C. S. officers to be nominated by Secretary of State without any further competative examination. Sir Edward Lutyens, the Royal Architect, who designed the Metropolitan City of New Delhi had asked the Secretary of State to send me to him for consultation regarding the Memorial under design to Indian soldiers who died at Alsise—Lorraine (between France and Germany). Another curious incident occurred. I was confused with the Mathematical prodigy Ramanujam who was brought at that time from a clerical post at the Madras Port Commissioner Office to Cambridge. At that time also Bhupendranath Basu, the great agitating politician came as the Indian Member of the Council of Secretary of State. Curiously he demanded my appointment to the newly started school of oriental studies in London. When I declined the offer on £800/- as initial salary per annum he became cross with me and deplored my homesickness. Similarly I disappointed Mr. N. C. Sen assistant Adviser and colleague of Sir Thomas Arnold when I pre-

ferred I.E.S. to I.C.S. From a Civil Service list Dr. Arnold pointed out that Dr. Ganganatha Jha was then drawing the salary of Rs. 400 p.m. after 14 years service in P.E.S. I agitated for equal emoluments and status for those few Indian Officers who were then officiating on two-thirds salary of the regular I. E. S. Europeans. My point of view impressed the authorities of the India Office and that invidious distinction was removed from 1920 when a number of Indians were directly recruited and some including Dr. Jha were promoted from P.E.S. to I.E.S.

But my over-enthusiasm to finish the *Mānasāra* research misguided me and I suffered from miseries and anguish for nearly two years after my return from London. On my way to join the post directly under the Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, I made an error of not joining as Inspector of schools of the Presidency Division of Bengal, which post so long reserved for European I.E.S. only was offered to me by the D.P.I. (Mr. Hornell). Similar errors of judgment I committed in quitting the Madras appointment which I was delibrately provoked to do by an Indian (Madrasi) Secretary to the Madras Governor. For similar impatience and lack of experience, I suffered by declining to accept the offer of a post at Dacca University on Rs. 1200—1800 made by Dr. P. J. Hastague the first Vice-Chancellar, and another offer made by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee at the Calcutta University. I also hurriedly resigned the post at Patna College at the ticklish behaviour of the principal Coldwell. Ultimately Dr. Thomas came to my rescue. Sir Henry Sharp introduced me at Simla to Sir Claud de la Fosse and got me posted at Muir Central College through the personal selection of Sir Harcourt Butler, the then Governor of U. P. Sir Claude made immediate arrangement for the printing of Vol. I and II of the Mānasāra Series, at Govetment Press at Allahabad,

the publication of which, through the Oxford University Press, had already been arranged by Professor Thomas.

Thus Dr. Thomas wrote on January 20, 1952,—"Of course, I am interested to know your *Mānasāra* Monument is now piled still higher by the publication of vols VI and VII." Like all others Dr. Thomas seemed to have suffered from the want and privations of the World War II especially when it was coming to an end. On January 22 and August 26, 1945 he wrote—"We have been living in strange times. I, for one, have been very hard-worked and without any spare energy." Again he referred to the troubles—"As you will realize, we have been living in stirring times, and even normally during these war years one's energies have been rather exhaustingly preoccupied. The accomplishment of every project is beset with *vighnas* (obstacles), from lack of domestic help to dilatory post, scarcity of paper and printers, and inaccessibility of library treasures." In 1945 I retired from I.E.S. on attaining the age of 55 years. In the United Kingdom the age of professorial retirement was 65 years. It was suggested that I might go to the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Commenting on this suggestion Dr. Thomas wrote to me (22.1.45)—"Of course, I, as a past occupant of the chair. . . ., should have been pleased if the opportunity of appointing an Indian had been seized." But he warned me by saying that "to leave your fine house and come to England seems adventurous these days. A removal to this country would give us the real satisfaction of meeting again." He added—"your reappointment in the Allahabad University gave me genuine pleasure" (May 24, 1946). . . We should both be happy to see your wife and yourself again in this country and to welcome you in this *Āśrama* at Limen, Bodicote, North Banbury" where he was living the real *vāṇaprastha* life with his wife as the only

companian, the son and the daughter having been already married and settled.

By 1948 my continuous work on the *Mānasāra* since 1914 came to an end. Volumes III (Text of the *Mānasāra*), IV (translation) and V (Illustrations) were published in 1934 exactly after 100 years after the publication of Ram-Raza's Essay on the *Mānasāra* published in 1834; and Vol. VI (Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad) and Vol. VII (An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture) came out in 1946 but published formally in 1948. Some learned colleague designated as Vol. VIII of the Mānasāra series the *Swastika Bhavana* constructed for a demonstration of the rules and regulations of the Mānasāra architecture. In his letters (January 22 and August 26, 1945, and May 24, 1946) Professor Thomas bitterly referred to an unusual and peculiar incident which was about to upset the plan of the Secretary of State for India made at international level when I was sent to Holland in the thick of World War I in 1917. He wrote (January 22, 1945)—"I am pleased to know that your *Mānasāra* work is still bearing abundant new fruit. It must also have been some satisfaction to you to see Vogel's article, in which he made some amends for his action at the time when you took your Degree (at the Leyden University). The article was published (in *Indian Art and Letters* (India Society). I have traced Professor Vogel's commendatory article on your *Mānasāra* : it is printed in *Octa orientalia* (1935, Vol. XIV, pp. 224-230).

He referred to this matter again (on May 24, 1946) —"I have always regretted that the incessant demands upon my energies prevented my writing in '*Indian Art and Letters*' concerning your *Mānasāra*. But any more commendation of your original and important publication became many years ago superfluous." Brief extracts from some leading Reviews may disclose what Professor Thomas meant to say. He seems to have been impressed, like

lovers of Indology all over the world, by views and Reviews of Tagore and especially of Professor Keith and Sir Ganganatha Jha.

When volumes VI and VII of the *Mānasāra* came out in 1948, Professor Thomas as the originator of this big project saw the end of it. On July 6, 1933, he wrote to Professor Tuxen of Oslo (Scandinavia)—"you may have seen his dictionary of Hindu Architecture. He has now completed his very extensive work on the same subject including an edition and translation of the Mānasāra and a very interesting volume of Plates, designed in accordance with the directions in the text." In his Presidential address to the *All India Oriental Conference* held at Trivandrum (20th December, 1937) he took fatherly delight by saying that "Acharya's heroic and monumental labour upon the *Mānasāra* has had sequelae in the publication of some new texts from Travancore."

"Of course I am interested to know," he wrote (in January 1952), "that your Mānasāra Monument is now piled still higher by the publication of vols. VI (Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad) and VII (An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture)." He was satisfied with my endeavour when he remarked (in his letter of July 13, 1938)—"Your powers of work are indeed remarkable." It is no exaggeration to say that without continuous aid and inspiration from my Guru (Dr. Thomas) this gigantic task could hardly be carried out with any success. He supplied necessary materials and facilities to work in London, Oxford and Cambridge. He protected me from evil forces in Holland, Madras and Patna. He kept me away from the temptations of accepting lucrative offers received at the moments of dire necessity at Calcutta, Dacca, Banaras, Lahore and London. He got me fixed up at Allahabad and arranged the publication of the whole *Mānasāra* Series through the Oxford University Press. The Uttar Pradesh

Government expressed appreciation of this work through the Secretary to the Governor (G. O. No. A—500—XV—2046—49, dated May 10, 1954)—"The Governor has, in appreciation of the learning and scholarship manifested in the monumental work (Mānasāra), been pleased to sanction a reward to Dr. P. K.Acharya." If it were adequate this reward should have been given to Professor F. W. Thomas. The Government of India, however, honoured us all by conferring the title of C.I.E. upon Dr. Thomas who had served as the Librarian of India office for over a quarter of a century from about 1900. He had been also honoured by most of the older universities in India and in Europe by awarding their honorary Doctorate to him.

Through his handling of Indian records and sanskrit books and manuscripts preserved in the India office Library his familiarity with and appreciation of the achievements in the wide field of our culture and civilization were unique. He overcame the genuine sentiment of Professor Maxmullar who declined the repeated invitation to visit India because the picture of the real Indian life he had drawn from his study of Sanskrit literature did no longer exist and the 'Sons and daughters of Manu' disappeared through the foreign conquests. Professor Thomas, on the other hand fulfilled his curiosity by visiting India twice at the fag end of his career. He had numerous acquaintances in India. Almost all the Indologists, Indian and non-Indian alike, were indebted to him for the invaluable materials treasured in the India office library.

In his Presidential address at Trivandrum Oriental Conference he mentioned incidentally the well-known names of scholars. "I do indeed sincerely feel that circumstances have conspired to invest me with a quasi-representative character. As a pupil of Cowell (who later was the principal of the Government Sanskrit college at Calcutta, prior to Pandit Iśwarachandra Vidyāsāgara), and a remote

successor in London and Oxford of Horace Hayman Wilson, in London also of Ballantyne and others; as having worshipped at the feet of Barth, Kern and of Aufrecht, whose tradition went back to the days of Lassen and Bopp; as a junior friend of Buhler, Kielhorn, Fleet, Jacob, and Burgess and of Senart, Kuhm, Pischal, Oldenberg, Eggling, Jacobi, Rhys Davids and how many others including Sylvain, Levi, Abrilliant, enthusiastic and incredibly accomplished Savant......I may not have personally known Max Muller and Monier Williams, Weber, Bothlingk or Roth, not to mention many another famous names of that period, yet my roots do really reach far back into the European past of our studies (of Sanskrit literature), and that in some degree I am authorized to pronounce in their name a benediction upon your work."....

He went on : "I am charged to represent here the oldest and perhaps the youngest of the English corporations particularly concerned with Oriental studies, namely, the University of Oxford, with which may be associated its Indian Institute, and the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London;... the Royal Asiatic (Society of Great Britain and Ireland), the World Congress of Faiths, and other Institutions in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe and in America and Asia."

As mentioned elsewhere Professor Thomas was actively associated with Indian or Oriental institutes as known more widely all over the world. Coming to Indian contributions to Indology he rightly reminded us— "Indian scholarship has ever been ready to acknowledge indebtedness to such co-workers, teachers and inspirers from the west : your zeal and devotion may be an encouragement to their successors." He illustrated the point by mentioning Sir R. G. Bhandarkar whom he honoured as "Bhishma, as it were, enunciating Śāstras from his couch of spikes. I knew his generous insistence upon the contri-

bution of European critical methods to our common studies. It was accompanied by familiarity with that old learning which, like the classical studies in Europe, not only developed the intellect, but also moulded the character and helped to form the soul. In succession came Dr. Ganganatha Jha, whose scholarly translations and studies of Sanskrit philosophical texts had enabled us to follow the intricate reasoning of that great literature."

He further elaborated the invaluable contributions of Dr. Jha by paying tributes to the memory of "Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Vidyāsāgara (truly ocean of learning), the President of the Madras Conference in 1924, that unrivalled authority on ancient Sanskrit philosophical texts, that scholarly translator of Sūtras and Bhāṣyas, the re-discoverer of the system of Prabhākara, the Editor of *Indian Thought*." He offered "heart-felt congratulations upon the completion of his translation of the *Śabara-Bhāṣya*, filling more than 2000 closely printed pages in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, a work of enormous difficulty and importance. If the announcement, in the latest preface, that this great achievement completes Dr. Jha's proposed life-task is to be accepted as difinite, though we hope that may not be the case, we must at any rate agree that the annals of pure Sanskrit scholarship record no more monumental contribution than is constituted by the work of Dr. Ganganatha Jha." Professor Thomas also referred to the tributes of Colonel Jacob "who greeted with enthusiasm the earlier part of Dr. Jha's writings." The tributes paid to Dr. Jha "in the form of a large commemoration volume replete with notable essays" is also mentioned "as a sort of winding up statement."

After the conference at Trivandrum (in December 1937) Professor Thomas toured all over the country for more than six months. On July 13, 1938 he wrote to me from his steamer S.S. Vita in the Persian Gulf—"your letter of

June 8 reached me a few days ago in Bombay. I am now four days out from Karachi on my way home, expecting to be in Basra to-morrow and in England about the fourth week of July. I left Nepal on May 22, and since then I have visited Darjeeling, and Burma, and then on my return Mysore, Poona, Bombay, Agra, Mahenjodaro and Karachi. In Agra and the last two it was very warm. I started on this voyage rather fatigued; but now the rest and good breeze have made me fresh again." After an enquiry about my children and wife, he referred to Dr. Jha again. "If you see Dr. Ganganatha Jha will you kindly mention that the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference is going to take action in regard to the proposed Indian Academy. They will receive communication in due course." He spent a couple of months in Calcutta and a few days at Allahabad during this visit to India.

Professor Thomas was enthusiastic, since 1914 when I came to know him, to establish the Indian Academy. Dr. Jha never discussed this matter with us. On the other hand he was rightly in despair about the future of Sanskrit studies. He often used to say that "only misguided youths took up Sanskrit for study and a succesful career." He was, however, honoured with a knighthood in his death-bed. And it is happy to remember after his demise that this *Ganganatha Jha Research Institnte* was established and it is coming out splendidly at the untiring efforts of his beloved pupil Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Umesha Mishra, the able Secretary of this Memorial.

After referring to the contributions of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Sir Ganganatha Jha, Professor Thomas in the Presidential address referred to "Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, the very prolific investigator of old Iranian literature and culture; the genial veteran Haraprasad Śāstri who out of his own experience could discourse so shrewdly and wisely upon many departments of Indian studies, a very

fountain of unpremeditated and original instruction; Hiralal with his inexhaustive knowledge of Indian archaeology; Kashi Prasad Jayaswal and Dewan Bahadur Krishna Swamy Aiyangar—all maintaining a high standard of sound scholarship of originality and method in research, of insight into the problems calling for solution and of judgment in valuing results."

Professor Thomas also referred to the famous series of publications brought out by the Governments of the centre and provinces such as the Census Reports, Gazetteers, the Linguistic and Archaeological Surveys; Sir John Marshall's three volumes of Indus valley civilization, Indian Antiquities, the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Epigraphia Moslemica, Carnatica, Burmanica; Mysore and Travancore Archaeological Series, not excluding Greater India, Epigraphia Zeylanica and Inscriptions du Cambodge. "During the years spent in the Library of the India office I could not help being aware of a large output of pamplets, in verse or prose, of a local character relating mostly to shrines. . . . conceiving that in old India, as in medieval England and Europe, topography was not primarily a matter of towers and villages, but of the great religious establishments about which they clustered."

In the Presidential address of the classical Sanskrit Section Dr. Thomas disclosed an astonishing glimpse of his extraordinary familiarity with the oceanic store of the Vedic and the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature. He rightly asserted—"Hitherto the Vedic Sanskrit has been little studied from the aesthetic point of view. The scholars have been too intensely occupied with the questions of etymology, literal meaning and grammar to have leisure for the appreciation of the form and content as literature. . . . we may sum up by saying that the Vedic literature, though mainly professional, is not the work of persons whose profession was literature. Literary art appears in it as a by-product

in the attainment of another object or as a spontaneous intrusion of human feeling. The (post-Vedic) Sanskrit literature, on the other hand, may be said to be wholly under the dominion of conceptions of art and method. . . . But, when we say that the Sanskrit literature is dominated by artistic conceptions, we mean much more than that it is so largely in verse. It is governed by formal ideas in regard to exposition. . . . with this slight sketch we may connect a few reflections upon what the Sanskrit has accomplished and what it may still hope to achieve."

No body is more qualified than Professor F. W. Thomas to evaluate what Sanskrit has accomplished, "namely, that disciplining of Indian society and mentality which followed the philosophical anarchy of the time of Buddha and accompanied the growth of extensive empires. . . Outside the limits of Aryan India this would be of special importance. For to the new people in Further ("Greater") India and elsewhere who became subject to Indian influence it was necessary to import some definite language and system of things; and for this purpose Panini and Manu were instruments ready to hand." The whole regions of Sirindia and Insulindia bear witness to this fact. "To central Asia Indian influence came in a Prakrit Buddhist form; but the documents show numerous effects of Sanskrit influence and the florid epistolary style is plainly a product of the chancelleries of the Hindu States. In Burma, Siam, Indo-china (Malay, Cambodia etc.), Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, etc.) and Ceylon, the early infusion of Aryanism penetrated despite Buddhist and Jain propaganda which served in the end for the extension of the Brahmanic system.' Regarding what Sanskrit may still hope to achieve, Profesor Thomas did never hesitate to make a prophetic prediction. "The Sanskrit, far from manifesting any exhaustion, has acquired through the discoveries of modern times an immensely increased importance. . . with the awakening of self-cons-

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ciousness of Buddhism and the revival of scholarship in the several communities the Sanskrit literature of Buddhism is likely to attract a growing interest in the whole of eastern Asia".

In India "the principle is on the way to general acknowledgement that for higher education on the humanistic side Sanskrit is in India an imperative requirement. It would indeed be preposterous, if those Indians whose interest is turned to matters social, literary and historical were without access to that knowledge which alone can enable them to realize the situation in which they find themselves. With the aid of English it is, no doubt, possible in large centres to lead an entirely modern and international life of political and social interests and amusements. But such a life, divorced from the total milieu and dependent upon stimulus from abroad, is without roots in its own soil and related to its surroundings rather by irritation than by sympathy. We must look forward beyond the period of overwhelming influx from Europe to a period of equilibrium when for further progress India will depend at least as much upon her own powers of originations as upon importation from abroad. The English language, so widely spread over the earth, will remain, no doubt, its international medium."

"Will it require another common language for its internal needs, and if so, has the Sanskrit still a chance?" He answered the question himself. "There might be no such common medium, or there might be a duality or plurality of such with local distribution; in that case the problem is not solved, but is postponed to a later stage. One of the living vernaculars might take over the function; and this would have the undoubted advantage that the modern vernaculars have shown no reluctance to adopt from abroad such vocables as may be convenient for modern life. But in view of the great linguistic divisions of the

country, *if it is to be one country*, it may be worth while, at the risk of appearing to flog a dead horse, to ask whether the Sanskrit , perhaps in a further simplified form, may not again rise to the occasion."

The power of Sanskrit to express the modern ideas is illustrated—"that Sanskrit can be adapted to the expression of all modern contents was demonstrated a century ago by the pioneer experiments of Dr. Ballantyne and his colleagues in Banaras. Lately, I have enjoyed a re-perusal of a little work in Sanskrit by a distinguished Ācārya, giving an account of his pilgrimage to the Badarikāśrama. The author had no difficulty in communicating through the Sanskrit, with no great apparatus of syntax, all the incidents of the journey by rail, etc., and all features of the places visited which he desired to record."

In modernizing old Sanskrit Professor Thomas suggested that "the Sanskrit should be allowed the freedom of appropriating Rūḍhi (basic) terms which have established themselves in the actual vernaculars or even of borrowing them direct from foreign speech, as it often necessarily does in the case of titles and proper names." Similarly the difficulty of pronunciation of Sanskrit words, differing widely in different parts of India, may be overcome by asking different peoples "to surrender any deviations from the correct old pronunciation of Sanskrit established upon the unshakable authority of the early works on phonetics."

Professor Thomas was convinced, a decade before Indian independence came into being, that by nothing but the medium of Sanskrit the essential unity of India can be retained. "One advantage of Sanskrit in comparison with any vernacular is that in very many cases it is already known in the vernaculars, both Aryan and Dravidian as the single original form of competing vernacular derivatives. The necessary amount of syntax need not be greater in the case of (simplified) Sanskrit than of a vernacular."

Another and greater advantage of Sanskrit being adopted as the lingua Indica would be that "outside of India Sanskrit would carry with it a convenience by facilitating a solidarity with those countries whose religious literature has a Sanskrit basis, an area which, as we have seen, comprises a great part of Central and Eastern Asia."

Professor Thomas concluded his prediction by giving a prophetic warning. "I, therefore, do not feel that the idea of Sanskrit resuming its place as a common literary medium for India is a hopelessly lost cause, since the alternatives are either that there should be no such medium other than the English which, it should be remembered, is in regard to many necessary Indian notions itself without any resource, or the dominance, despite unavoidable reluctances, of some particular vernacular" (like Hindi).

The future is unpredictable. But the present policy and programme of independent India make it impossible for Sanskrit to become the all-India medium or Lingua Indica. Even the very existence of Sanskrit as a subject of study in schools and colleges, and in Pāṭhaśālās and Sanskrit Universities, may not servive after a few generations. Only the "misguided youths would take up Sanskrit for regular study" as predicted, in great despair, by Sir Ganganatha Jha. Like the efforts of Kemal Pasha to modernise Turkey our present policy is to push on with the industrialization through intensive cultivation of science and technology. The study of Sanskrit does not provide a career for young men and women of the country.

It is true that the Government have set up, not only one academy of Professor Thomas's dream but three Akadami adopting the Arabic spelling of the word and altering his aim and object. The *Sahitya Akadamy* has been awarding prizes for works in all regional languages. The *Sangit-Nāṭaka Akadami* has been similarly encouraging singing, dancing, dramatizing, filming, by offering titles. And

the *Lalita-kalā* (fine arts) *Akadami* has been pushing the artists to come out with their various inner urges. Even the dying Pandits in their death bed may expect big life-long pension if they happen to be the favourites of the politicians and party-leaders. A *Sanskrit Commission* was also set up although their recommendations are not likely to be implemented by making Sanskrit (or some other classic) compulsory for school-going boys and girls. The study of Sanskrit has been uprooted by making the study of the National language (Hindi), the regional mother tongue, and the English compulsory up to the Intermediate stage. In addition to these three languages, only the mis-guided pupils would take up Sanskrit and deprive them-selves of the opportunity of an acquaintance with history, geography or mathematics and one or more science sub-jects which will be more helpful for employment and earn-ing one's livelihood. The priest-craft is dying out. The Varṇāśrama is derided. An irritating term "Casteism" has become very popular in the gaping mouth of the self-seeking legislators. The members of the Brāhma, the Ārya and other advanced Samājists have already adopted the vernacular forms for the performance of marriage, death and one or two more sacraments which are still observed as a matter of habit, not of faith and belief. The sanctity of the Deva-bhāṣā, Sanskrit, is no longer acknowledged.

PREFACE

By Śrī H. L. Sharma

Not unwittingly perhaps, the authors of Alaṁkāra Literature in India evince an intimate knowledge of facts about beauty-consciousness. The facts are the elusive moments of beauty-thrill, the fleeting panorama of images and those delightful streams of creative bliss, which we significantly call Rasa. They require culling them and stringing them together, and need an evaluation and interpretation against a philosophical background. This is to introduce a mental ordering and reduce chaos to the cosmos of Laws. What we thus get is the Aesthetic Philosophy of India. The present thesis is an essay to reduce our artistic sensibility to system and law.

The Vedas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* do not contain any express theory of Beauty. Yet for the completeness of impression, we have suggested some theories regarding their art-form. A self-conscious Aesthetics begins with Bharata who serves as a tower of illumination for centuries to come. He supplies the basic concepts and the main spokes of the wheel on which the later superstructure of Art-Philosophy has been raised. I have indicated the psycho-aesthetic foundations of his entire thought-scheme and pointed out the nuclear elements in art-experience.

From a psycho-aesthetic stand point, the schools of Alaṁkāra, Rīti and Guna reveal the Principles of Form and Decoration underlying the graphic as well as musical arts. A closer study of Alaṅkāra further indicates the modus operandi of creative genius even outside the sphere of Literary Art.

It is Ānandavardhana who deepens the outlook into the Metaphysics of Beauty and unveils an inveterate habitus

and idiom of aesthetic consciousness by his discovery of Dhwani. His is a brilliant survey of mind's beauty-experience, a close charting and mapping of the unfathomable and unseen recesses of the human soul and a distinct articulation of flashing moments of beauty-thrill. He goes behind experience to the psycho-metaphysical depths and defines such concepts as Camatkāra, Rasa, Ānanda etc. in precise, intelligible language. The Thesis in hand formulates the metaphysic of Beauty and traces its developments through Mahima, Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha.

The last in the line of great thinkers is Jagannātha. While he endorses the Metaphysical stand-point of his predecessors, he flashes at times the meta-psychologic depths in his definition of basic notions. Some genial thinkers of Bhakti School also develop the viewpoint of Subliminal Psychology in defining Rasa etc. in terms of soul-liquification (druti), illumination (Vikāsa) and expansion (Vistāra). Besides, I have also set forth the emotional Principles of Harmony and the formal Principles of Beauty as they come to us from Rūpa Goswāmi. The nature of colour-harmony and Rhythm has also been indicated. At the end I have set forth the great Law of Organic Articulation in Art and Symbolism governing all forms in our hieratic architecture and sculpture. The approach is from the side of Literature and if our conclusions go out to apply to other forms of Art, they are confirmed by consilience.

I have not depended on the letter of the text which are only corroborative, though the conclusions are founded in them. The point of view throughout is critical. The unity of purpose which thus results has enabled a coherent system of thought to be built up. The comparison is also many-sided-horizontally ; I have compared our theories with parallel thought-systems in the West without confusing them with one another. Our view of Beauty as value has been checked up with other forms of value, so that the

axiological approach is not lost sight of. The use of thought in the West has been made both to supply a background of scientific Aesthetics so that our own may stand out in bold relief and to expound some hazy notions in modern terminology. I have taken all care to keep both the lines of development separate and metaculously avoided reading anything Western in our texts.

My efforts throughout have been directed to forming a pyramid of Indian Aesthetics, with a ground plan supplied by Bharata, developing many phases through the ages, thus growing in stature, volume and splendour yet pointing out to some definite conclusion. In this attempt my borrowings are not less significant. They are in the form of clear hints as to the general structure. My contribution, as I suppose it to be, is designing and assembling and giving it the shape of Philosophy.

THE CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN AESTHETICS

Historical Conspectus

1. *Vedic Contributions*

India's art-tradition goes back to the dateless past. The cave-carvings and other art-monuments of the pre-Vedic era are the rarest expressions of India's native aesthetic impulse. We omit to assess their value or formulate a theory, for that will not be very different from one already current about the Primitive Art[1].

The Vedic theory of beauty in art may be known as *Naturism*. The fountain of creative inspiration is Nature and her very breath, her colourful and sonorous harmonies are captured in the rhythmic movement of the Vedic lines. The main form of Vedic poetry is a prayer or an apostrophe. It is the total and spontaneous reaction of man to his environment. The prayer does not indulge in cynicism or escapist wailings. Life is for living fully and freely; its deepest cravings, despairs and joys lead to its fulness. There is no division or divorce between religious, moral or artistic aspects of life. The Vedic ṛk is the example of complete aspectual unity of life.

Vedic lyricism[2], therefore, sounds so distinct from later sentimentalism. In Keats, for instance, the turbulent passion to be one with Nature, and partake of her freedom and frenzy, is an echo of wearied life. Shelley's lyricism is the morose chafing at his helplessness to break the bonds which life imposes upon us. The Vedic lyricism is the complete emotional reaction of life to its inner and outer demands.

What distinguishes the artistic from the artificial is the interpenetration of theme and form. This the Vedic art achieves. Whether the theme is erotic, comic or terrible, the Vedic ṛk glows with energy and vigour. Such a quality of art may be described as *Simplicity* or *Sahaja*. Negatively it means freedom from 'technical swagger' and conventionalism. But positively Simplicity signifies directness of effect and vigour of form. Artificiality is opposed to Simplicity.

As the very model of Simplicity, Vedic poetry has its wealth of aesthetic charm in the use of metaphor and simile[3]. There is no attempt at sophistry or bashful concealment. The Vedic metaphor is not the product of the fluctuating imagination. It is born of the experience of heightened and expanded life. There is a passion-glow behind the image-picture of the metaphor, so that the image does not remain there to produce the three-dimension illusion or "chromatic effect", but to expand the being, to illumine the unseen recesses of the soul, through its charm. The total effect of metaphor is not isolated; therefore the whole thing does not seem to be a mosaic of emotionally tinged images. On the contrary, in a Sukta, there is an atmosphere burning with a creative energy, and the metaphoric image is only a lively current in the total passionate flow of harmony.

Naturism and Naturalism.

Is Vedic art naturalistic? No; for in Naturalism, the phenomenal Nature is presented to us in its logical-perceptual version. There is something of the primitive in it, though not truly primitive. In a naturalistic art, therefore, there is no lyrical vigour, glow or movement. Nature is not *transformed*. *In a true art of Nature, hoewver, the lyrical transformation is absolutely essential in exactly the same manner as the logical transformation is needed to produce 'Science'.* True art re-builds, refines and lyrically transforms

the experience as the true Seience does. In a naturalistic art, there is no such reorganization of experience. There may be slight transformation of Nature necessitated by the needs of presentation.

Lyrical transformation of Nature, in the context of Vedic art, should only mean the artist's living over again the life when it was (and is) in a complete 'rapport' with Nature. *It is rather a transformation of himself. Nature is as much lyrical, or more, as she is rational,* and does not need any adornment or idealization by imagination. Naturism does not mean the crude expression of unrefined feelings. It is the other name of Simplicity or Sahaja. The acute extroversion caused by the life's needs makes man wonder what he has made of himself. A distance is created between our present self and natural self. Naturistic art of the Vedas *shortens this distance* and restores the joyous rhythm of life.

This may lead to the charge of anthropomorphism and 'pathetic fallacy' against Naturism of the Vedas. The truth of the matter is that the Vedic art does neither invest natural phenomena with human attributes nor transform them in the light of the human feelings. It is creating *lyrical order* in Nature and tuning the human self to Nature's cosmic rhythm. 'Pathetic' attribution to the objects of Nature is an emotional make-believe, and is, therefore, morbid and artificial. The Vedic art is artistic, born as it is of the creative emotion, restless for expansion and embodiment. This lyric tendency of our nature is part and parcel of our 'ordered and ordering self.'

Aesthetic Functionalism.

Yāska's *Nirukta* and the Vyākaraṇa Philosophy yield us an art-theory which may be known as *Aesthetic Functionalism or Aesthetic Activism.* The material elements in an art-creation are not only structurally related, but also functionally interconnected. Thus a word, tone, colour, volume

or line in a work of art *is what it does*. Art-joy as much as art-creation is a form of self-activity and self-activation. The meta-psychology behind it is that the *liquid intelligence* of man cannot identify itself with anything that is not itself action and movement, and further, *cannot know it unless it becomes it*.

Yāska, in common with the general stand of Mīmāṁsā and India's Grammatical Philosophy, has his own theory of language. Language, as a form of articulation, is the function of consciousness. It is dynamic and creative. Mind being a liquid, creative flow articulates itself in *verbs*. By analysis every word can be shown to follow from some verb[4]. It is from a hypostasis that the substantives have grown. Even a verb, say to cook or to walk, is not a single action. It is a mass of actions momentarily succeeding one another and condensed into one sense. Thus the word has grown out of concentration or restriction of conscious life. *A word is the condensed, articulate consciousness*.

Starting with this stand, the Grammarian states that a word has prakṛti or dhātu (root-verb), which is capable of containing and conveying vast variety of meanings. Out of them we select one for practical purposes, which is its common connotation or primary meaning. It is by *limiting* the power of the word, by virtue of which it *tends to develop* into a rich tissue of significance, that Science and practical life purchase accuracy and directness in the use of language. We should not think, as is commonly done, that our starting point is Abhidhā; thence we proceed to Lakṣaṇā and Tātparya, and that Vyañjanā is the enriched and extended meaning of Abhidhā. The truth of the matter is that the word by its inherent potency, tends to full flowering and indicates, the vast wealth of meanings. *The primary meaning is the result of condensation and restriction*.

This naturally leads to a paradoxical conclusion. Every word can, by its inner logic, signify every sense,

says Patañjali. Kumārila teaches that the word contains as much meaning in it as it contains references to dhātus from which it seems to follow. Durgācārya says that out of the multisided meanings suggested by the word, we cannot choose one and reject the other. A word thus becomes the radiating centre of meanings and cluster of significant mental states. The only restricting agents are the context and the practical needs.

How then are the Vedic texts to be interpreted?

A Vedic mantra is Kāmadhenu and has infinite meaning. It is cloud-like (पर्जन्यवत्) raining profusely. A man can discover as much out of it as his capacity to discover the references to dhātus in it. The same mantra can convey metaphysical (अध्यात्म), psychical ((अधिदेव)) and physical (अधिभूत) meanings in its contexts. In each case the meaning of the mantra produces an immediate and 'intimate sense' of reality. The ordinary meaning—the relation of sign and significance—can give us a restricted and poor sense, and cannot produce a direct and overwhelming feeling of its presence. The word must be प्रत्यक्षक्रिय i.e., the actions which it embodies must be mentally realizable. *A Word without this capacity will remain an informant of second-hand knowledge, but never will it become formant of a lively experence.* Without that, so proceeds the Vedic theory, the god (देवता), who is of the word-form (मंत्ररूप) will not be realized. Devatā is no deity external to the mantra. The essence of the mantra itself—the sense it creates—is the soul and body of the devatā. Thus alone, the worshipper of god effectively prays to him. In the ecstasy of contemplation produced by the lively experience of the mantra, the seer loses his individual identity in the being of the god himself. He worships god by becoming god. This is the Vedic form of worship in which the seer has pratyakṣa of all dharma.

The *Nirukta* is the process of turning अतिपरोक्ष and परोक्षवृत्ति words into प्रत्यक्षवृत्ति. In the context of Aesthetic

Theory, 'nirukta' means turning a sign into a symbol. A sign is *uni-sense*[7], while a symbol is *multi-sense*. It is, as has been well said, a *plurisign*. A word in Science is, I may add, *single-dimension*. In art it is *multi-dimension*. The word, colour, timbre or movement has a depth of significance, and is charged with vivacity which expands our own sense of being. *The language of art is the very opposite of the definite expression in Science : it must be indefinite and rich in vague and various suggestion*. The quality of art grows with greater suffusion of meanings in a word.

But to be multi-sense is to be dynamic at the same time. The art-element does not convey rigid sense, but creates and sustains movements, both centripetal and centrifugal, in the psycho-organic life of the creator and the critic. Concepts, being of the nature of static growths in the mind, find no place in art-creation or appreciation, while emotions, which are of the nature of movements in life and vague in their meaning, are so fit for it.

The main problem of artistic creation and appreciation is : How to transform a sign into an art-element ? In this the artist follows the method of the *Nirukta* in his own way. In so far as he deals with the material basis of art, colour, volume or line, he finds in the objects of sight, touch, etc., something rigid and dumb. A colour in itself is अतिपरोक्ष, and has an indistinct and single-track meaning. The artist has to wake it up with emotional energy and invest it with wide and vague suggestions. So long as a piece of sculpture remains a well-hewn stone, the art has neither been created nor enjoyed. When, however, every furrow of the face or twitch of the lips begins to voice a thousand concealed experiences of life, it becomes art the very moment.

The art-element is always प्रत्यक्षक्रिय. We must not lay too much emphasis on the material basis of art, for the work of painting, for instance, no more hangs on its colours than the stars do on the blue of the sky. The colour or line is

the vehicle of multi-meaning of art, and must be suffused over and infused with passion. The colour must come to life—its vitality must be manifest (प्रत्यक्षक्रिय). It seems to be dumb and dead to our practical perception. But in creative imagination it lives, breathes and moves. It is in this way that art restores life, which the mechanical demands of practice take away.

To sum up : Judgment in aesthetic experience should take the form : This is beautiful because, and in so far as, it is dynamic and activating. An art-element is the sign—a sensuous perception—transformed into the galvanic centre of multi-meaning by the process of discovering verbs, movements in it. This process of transformation of अतिपरोक्षवृत्ति into अन्तर्लीनवृत्ति and the latter into प्रत्यक्षवृत्ति where the meaning is immediately and intimately comprehended, is the process of artistic creation and appreciation.

2. *The Krauñca Episode*

The Vedic Naturism is a distinct stage in the art-history of India. Nature in its cosmic aspect is the fountain of the Vedic poetry. It starts from the fulness of life, its joy, wonder and child-like questioning. By its power it takes man very near to the joyous source of his own being. Its main aesthetic charm is its power of communion. *In Vālmīki, the centre is shifted from Nature to man.* The theme of Vālmīki art is *human nature in conflict with the immutable order of things.* The resulting emotion is Pathos. Pathos is a creative emotion. When it finds a proper theme, the result is an overflow of harmony in some medium, which is art.

The Krauñca Episode is the key to both creative and appreciative aesthetics of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki is the creative genius, and, naturally his personality seeks medium for artistic embodiment. His quest[8] for the perfect pattern of humanity is the first expression of the poet in him. He got the theme (vastu) from Nārada. This theme needed artistic

recasting in the medium of a master emotion. This did not come to him, though it was gradually taking shape in the depths of his soul, till the seer chose to have a merry dip in the Gaṅgā and a carefree[9] stroll in the jungle. There the thing happened. The Krauñca pair, forgetful of the invisible hand of fate, engaged in merry-making, till the hunter's arrow made one to wallow in the pool of his blood and the other to wail in her agony and despair. 'Blood and tear'—this is the world and its finâle. The realization of this fact with a terrific suddenness before his eyes unlocked the unconscious music of the seer's soul. *Pathos flowed into poetry.*

But this was not enough to produce the epic that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is. The theme was got from Nārada; the form of art, pathos[10], came to him on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Vālmīki was still perturbed, not seeing the true significance of each. Something in the depths of his life was agitating to be born, something tragic, true and moving. Brahmā[11] came to the Muni who fell into a trance in his presence. During that moment of self-merger, the form and theme combined into one artistic whole. Poetry ran out into a clear current of musical harmony to the wonder of the poet himself.

In general structure and essence, the Krauñca episode sums up the nature of epic art. Further, it reveals the *modus operandi* of creative genius and the laws of movement of aesthetic emotion. Art consists in close wedding—or rather welding—of theme and form. Theme is a cognitive element, sensuous material of art, event or ideal. Form is emotion. Art-creation consists in suffusion of emotion over a theme. In the *Rāmāyāṇa*, the master-emotion is pathos which sounds as the 'recurrent motif' of the entire work. A general psychograph of aesthetic emotion, its ascent and descent so as to produce beauty-thrill, is pointed out in the West also. The stages are Exposition[12], Crisis, Climax and Denouement. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find no such mathematical idea. *In it,*

12.

the art-form is wholly governed by the laws of emotional harmony. The central emotion is one : it is pathos. All other emotions centre round it. Each emotion, whether erotic, heroic or ludicrous, draws from its centre and contributes something of its own to it. *This dynamic relation of afferent and efferent interaction between the master emotion and other emotions forms an aesthetic constellation.* The theme has got to be woven round this. The act of artistic creation consists just in materializing this constellation.

When does an emotion become artistic ? The answer is : the moment it takes a form. In our ordinary experience, an emotion is a vague psychic storm. It has no form. It tends to suppress every other emotion and fixate on an object whose form it seeks to adopt. But the moment it forms a constellation with an active centre round the laws of harmony, it becomes aesthetic in nature and passes out of the private sphere. Further, an emotion in art is creative. The Kraufica story reveals the way in which an emotion becomes productive of art. So long as the pathetic feeling possessed the Muni, and was felt as his own, poetry could not be produced. But the moment the central emotion organized in a form and was transferred from his self to the theme proper, it became creative. This transfer creates a 'psychological distance' between the creator and emotion. An emotion, however, too near or too far, cannot be appreciated from the standpoint of art. The point at which it becomes creative has been called as 'aesthetic[13] distance.' In brief, *emotion becomes artistic and creative when it has a 'form' and is 'distanced'.*

3. *A brief historiograph*

Man, not as Nature made him, but as he has made of himself by his beliefs and actions, is the source of inspiration for the post-Vālmīki art. Though the chronological order may not be correct, the three classes of art can be distinctly

marked. In the Vedic art, the art-atmosphere breathes spiritual and religious air of Nature. Man remains the loveliest and loving child of her. *Its main-quality is rhythm*, and through rhythm the finite communicates with the Infinite, the mortal realises eternity. Vālmīki art is human par excellence. Though rhythmic, its main power is the dynamic harmony of emotion. It makes us feel not divine, but human. We realise the tremendous conflict at the heart of creation. The atmosphere of the post-Vālmīki art is psycho-social. Art-impulse gets a chance of full play because of the widening of theme. Buddhist sculpture and painting mark a further expansion and invention of art-forms, and later Brāhamanism perfects the process of refinement.

As progressively man subordinates Nature, art loses its spiritual rhythm and harmony. But even in the midst of social art, the Vedic and Vālmīki elements emerge and illumine the whole. Art, however, serves now no more the necessary end of life. It is reduced to pastime and recreation. Not presentative of the deep experiences, the later art represents the social complexities. Representation in art increasingly dominates, till it is reduced to its pictorial quality. Further decay is caused by canonization of art-forms and themes. Within the rigid frame-work of formulas for everything—dance, drama, music and sculpture,—art was frozen to death. Even the barren embellishment was identified with art. Art has been recently revived by the warm breath of the saint-artists, mainly by the call 'back to the past' of the Bengali School.

We sum up below the dominant marks of India's art-genius which became manifest during the vast stretch of time :—

1. India's art, as her Philosophy, is mainly *transcendental*. It is an attempt to realize the Supra-real and to give form to the formless, and to paint the Infinite on a

finite canvas. This mark is so fundamental that every other follows from it as its direct corollary.

2. This is achieved by the Principle of Sonus (Dhvani). *All Indian art is—even the graphic—of the musical or sound-form.* All lines, volumes, colours or any artistic forms, visible or audible, resound with suggestions. The Infinite can only be suggested by the finite. The suggestion emanates as an overtone from the material symbol. All Indian art, therefore, is infused with a 'chant-like' rhythm and inner harmony.

3. *For the reason that Indian art is transcendent, the process of art-creation is also afferent.* Art-form develops from within a state of contemplation illumined by spiritual glow. The material element in art is only a *pointer*,[14] but it is charged with energy so as to create a rhythmic flow of life. *It is ego-centric in*[15] *both creative and appreciative moments* : art-creation embodies the primal rhythm, and, cannot be enjoyed until our small individual being flows back into the vast current of vitality. *Indian art can be enjoyed with closed-eyes—even the visual art.*

4. Indian art, at its best, is anti-representation and anti-portraiture. We cannot find an exact counterpart in Reality outside to an art-form. Indian art-forms, specially its anatomy, look so peculiar, even ludicrous, to the Western connossieur. Sometimes the 'departures' from the real patterns are intentional so as to wean our minds from referring the art-form to them. Even when patterns are chosen in the graphicarts, they are taken directly from Nature, and not from the blundering imagination of the artist. Even in music and metre the prototypes are natural. These prototypes and patterns are condensed and preserved in her art-traditions and mathematics, which sound so mystic to one unacquainted with India's cultural past. It is to be regretted, however, that this mathematics, intricate and mysterious, abounding in formulas and measurements,

chilled the very current of art-life from wihch it arose.

5. It is dominated by Rasa, and creates emotional rather than mathematical harmony. All evaluation is in terms of Rasas. Bharata, the founder of India's Psycho-aesthetics, points out emotional value of each movement in dance, tone or microtone in music and colour in painting, and their combinations and permutations. Some sculpture and architectural forms refer to Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, the metaphysical realities of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. But these are only three forms of emotional tendencies manifesting the primal matrix and creative energy.

6. *Art is the way to self-perfection through self-activity.* It is predominantly religious, being a way of inward communion. It not only refreshes and revitalizes, but re-creates the soul by uniting it with the infinite vital surge. *Art-creation and appreciation, therefore, bring about an emotional reorganization of life.* Ninety per cent of Indian art is the product of the devotional cults. Her themes are religious and, though old in age, are eternal fountains of delight and, inspiration. These never-old themes take on the artistic forms in sympathy with the voice and vision of the age. India's art-history thus flows down to this day as a continuous stream, which, in spite of the tributaries swelling it with forms and volume, despite so much of fusion and confusion of so many elements, retains this religious character of its parent current. Art in India remains the way of self-growth, emotional self-discipline, in short, a way of worship.

Lest we should be regretting the narrow canvas of the Indian artist, we may note that 'religion' is not the word which conveys the full sense of the above remark. Upāsanā is the right word. Upāsanā of the beautiful is the creed of the artist, and, God as the micro-cosmic and macrocosmic essence, is conceived to be beautiful. Beauty in all forms, human or animal, demonaic or divine, is God Himself.

Creation of beauteous rhythm, therefore, is an act of upāsanā. Upāsanā is the creative emotion leading to the expansion of being and self-fulfilment. It is creative delight (Ānanda) as distinct from the empirical satisfaction. In this sense, the artist's scope becomes as wide and deep as the life itself. Indian art, therefore, has all the vigour and variety of an ever-growing aesthetic impulse.

7. The highest state of art-creation and appreciation is the contemplative self-merger. It is the state of Samādhi, the culminating point in the process of psychic integration. Samādhi is the highly creative state of the mind, when, in the language of Psycho-analysis, the ego returns to the primal rhythm. Only Samādhi is not abnormal. It is not a negative state either. During Samādhi, an emotional rapport is brought about so as to canalize the infinite creative energy into the individual psyche. The first effect of art is the emotionalization of the ego. The dynamic of rhythm which is the essence of dance, music and poetry, works the soul up into the region of super-reality, where it is emancipated from the bondage of individuality. Art, therefore, is the means to mukti, freedom from psycho-organic complexes. This power of self-absorption through art is not achieved without a rigorous self discipline. Hence, art is not to be touched by the profane hand of a debauchee, for it is not the way of auto-eroticism, as taught by the psycho-analysts.

II. Beauty as rasa-emotion

Beauty as a form of human value must be found as a basic element in human experience. All attempts to derive it as a secondary quality from bio-psychic processes must now cease after the burial of the Atomistic Psychology and Mechanism. Below we detail India's contribution to the understanding of Beauty as a form of emotion. In the interest of systematic study of India's Aesthetic Philosophy, we discuss the esse, form and function of beauty-emotion from the metaphysical, meta-psychologic and psychological points of view.

1. *Metaphysics of Emotion.*

The Vedic seer is convinced to the core that *creation* is not the unfoldment of a plan but fulfilment of a passion. Before the emergence of the rational order, the primal creative state was Death[1] Death is the form of hunger. It is the undifferentiated and unmanifest matrix of all creation, the self-shining golden egg charged with inner tension. It is the transcendent but creative condition. The human individuality cannot comprehend it, though it underlies as the bedrock, cannot illumine it, though it hovers over it as an encircling halo of delight. From Death starts everything that is, and returns unto it as the shadows of the night begin to fall.

This metaphysical nature of creative emotion determines the very character of Indian Art even to this day. A work of art is the externalization of passion as the entire creation is. The artist repeats in his own way the process of cosmic creation. He is a Kavi as God is. Creation[2], whether cosmic or microcosmic, is governed not by the rational uniformities of Nature, but by the artistic laws of beauty. The universe is to be conceived not *notionally* as the organised sum of intellectual concepts, but *emotionally*[3] as an embodiment of beauty-impulse. The visible Nature

in all her lyric or terrible aspects[4] is fulfilling herself in art-joy of creation.

Plato's metaphysics is intellectual with all its emphasis on the supermundane Idea. So he conceives the artist's work as the shadow of shadow, a tertiary reality, hence illusory and condemnable. Aristotle too following the master does not regard the work of art as true creation. To him the creative process in art is imitative reproduction of the universal characters of Nature—nothing more than Mimesis. Greek art and Greek Aesthetics, therefore, do not soar above Representationism. In what is known as the Gandhara Art in India, we can clearly read the Greek influence in the Buddhistic sculptures. The Buddha image is a representation of the archetypal form, rigid and lifeless, as the ideal Greek hero.

In India the metaphysical theory of beauty in art is bound up with a sound metaphysic of emotion. The entire cosmic scheme is the outcome of a creative impulse which is emotional[5] in nature. Indian thinkers lay emphasis on 'order[6].' But this order is not a notional concept. It is an emotional energy; for Ṛta is creative and moves the cycle of creation. It is dynamic and its movement is governed by intense rhythm. In Samādhi state the human psyche overflows with Ṛta and Samādhi is the result of psychic integration and emotional re-ordering. So is art. In the moment of creation, there is an emotional overflow of Ṛta. Art results from the emotionally 'ordered' self, which means when the emotion takes on an aesthetic form. Enjoyment of art also results in emotional re-organization of the self, that is, in the re-creation of Ṛta within the self.

Whether the artist is divine or human, art is always, at the creative or re-creative stage, a divine experience transcending the limits of individuality. It is, therefore, supermoral and super-intellectual illumination of the soul. Art-ecstasy is an, 'oceanic' feeling (ब्रह्म-भावना), resulting from

the emotional integration which culminates in the overflow of the microcosm with the cosmic rhythm (Ṛta). Much of the Indian art, therefore, being rhythmic is of musical character, and makes great demands on the connossieur's own spiritual integration. The sensible is the means to awaken the spiritual rhythm in the soul. Beauty, therefore, is this power of awakening the primal rhythm. This is done, negatively, by transcending the individual limits, and, positively, by means of self-affirmation. The sensible elements are not a mere harmonious blending, but they are made to speak the language of suggestive symbols. The Indian Śilpakāra[7] who cuts the idol of a divinity out of a marble rock revives the grand rhythm within his soul by the powers of his inner discipline, and, in the moment of rhythmic overflow, he makes the lines and volumes as the echoing voices from eternity. Beauty as an emotion is the moment of spiritual communion with the Infinite and the Formless.

The Sāṅkhya metaphysic is a huge metaphor[8], but the product of the natural idiom of aesthetic language. Prakṛti is not an idea, but the matrix, the Mother of all charms and creations. It is the other name of enchantment. Puruṣa and Prakṛti are two fructifying tendencies embodied in the masculine and feminine energies. The creation starts from their ecstatic union. Prakrti is the dance-girl, and in her rhythmic creative movements, she presents all the emotional moods and temperaments. She is triguṇamayī, and all colour, tune and space, everything, concrete or abstract, her each aspect or facet presents some rasa for the enjoyment of the Puruṣa. Nature is the cosmic drama, a work of art evolving from within the entire artistic harmony. But the Puruṣa is not the expert connossieur of the cosmic art of nature, for he, driven by the empathic induction of emotion, transfers all to his own self which, in fact, is happening outside on the stage. This causes him sorrowing in the events of nature. The artistic enjoyment of Nature's great drama is no more

possible. In the language of Aesthetic Philosophy, the Puruṣa fails to 'distance' the work of art from himself. If the Puruṣa comes to know what is what, and, by creating an aesthetic distance between himself and the work of art, he becomes, as he is in his true self, merely a spectator, the sorrows end and the bondage of individuality torn off. Beauty, according to the Sānkhya Philosophy, is the contemplative state of the Puruṣa, in which Nature in all her colour or sound harmony is presented to him without self-merger. A work of art is beautiful because, and to the extent to which, it induces the original emotional liason between itself and the enjoyer and sustains the contemplation.

2. *Aesthetic Imperative*

The metaphysic of emotion, as outlined above, not only gives true content to 'creation' and 'creativity', but also brings out the nature of Aesthetic Imperative. Emotion being the moving energy behind the evolutionary process, the entire universe becomes transformed into an articulate passion. The conception of a 'rational order' is, in its essence, the conception of unity and uniformity. This is deducible from, or, forms a part of, the Law of Beauty which means ever creative movement towards greater harmony and rhythm. Every aspect of Nature, consciously or unconsciously, obeys this law as a matter of inner necessity. In an ever-expanding process newer aspects emerge to create disharmony. But that is only a passing phase, an inhaling by the cosmic process, which must exhale a new order of emotions. An order of emotions is the 'order of beauty', rhythmic and harmonic movement of the creative process. To this order the process returns, and, any obstacles to its fulfilment are countered by economic or social revolutions[9].

Nature, cosmic or microcosmic, works with a will, which is the 'will-to-beauty'[10] Nature, at the self-conscious stage, seeks to establish the emotional order in its psycho-

social sphere. The entire economic and political structure of the society, raised on the basic concepts of justice and equity and the dignity of man, is emotional in character. For not Reason but Emotion can give the right clue to the understanding of the meanings of 'justice' and 'equity'. If they are not merely abstract ideas, but convey concrete significance, their only intelligible meaning can be rhythmic harmonious movement of life, which is the other name of beauty in its dynamic sense. The will-to-beauty thus fulfils itself in creation of harmonious order. In human arts, the artist creates rhythm by the dynamo of the art-material. In beauty-contemplation, with or without self-merger, the emotional flow becomes rhythmic and the whole life attains to a new plane. This is the creative virtue of art-enjoyment.

Emotion of yore could not find a central place either in the anatomy of psychic personality of man or in the cosmic constitution. It was thought to be a kind of blind urge directed by the light of Reason. In Indian metaphysic, Emotion is formative power, the truly creative force. It has the natural form, which is harmonic rhythmic flow, or, in other words, the natural form of emotion is beautiful. Where harmony is disturbed, or, rhythm is not vital, ugliness appears. It is overcome by creation of greater harmony and rhythm. Even the present form of human personality, its complex psychic apparatus or its products, which are the psycho-social institutions, are shaped under the Law of Beauty. The Law asserts itself again and again to restore the balance. This self-affirmation by Emotion is nothing but the Will-to-Beauty.

3. *Aesthetic Hedonism*

(a) The Upaniṣadic seers are the first Indian hedonists. The hedonic metaphor conceived by them is the sky as the cup overbrimming with joy. Ānanda is the very stuff of

our soul. But Ānanda is the metaphysical essence. It is concealed behind the sheaths of physical[11] body, vital system, instinctive urges and intellectual acquisitions. Ānanda is in the very centre of our spiritual existence, and, the entire system overflows with its radiating sparks. The soul has to turn inwards to reach it and pierce through the veils which the course of evolution has imposed upon it. The state of beauty-vision is the centripetal movement of emotional life, which the Upaniṣadic seer compares to the rapturous[12] embrace in an erotic experience. Beauty in art is its power to induce this state.

Vālmīki's Aesthetic Philosophy takes its stand on this Upaniṣadic conclusion. Beauty in art is joy which is of the nature of sex-craving smarting under the obstacles which make union difficult and therefore more intensely desired. Mere sex-craving does not lead to art. It becomes creative when it is transformed into Pathos: Vālmīki's hedonic approach to the problem of beauty in art is thus qualified by the element of conflict.

Vātsyāyan's Philosophy of the *Kāma-sūtra* is grossly hedonistic. Real joy is a form of self-forgetfulness in a tremendous flow of energy. It is a tendency to self-merger in a void of nothingness. Priti or Rati is pleasure in action, perception and imagination. This is comparable to the Factum, Function and Fancy pleasures of Modern Psychology.

A natural development of this line of thought is found in King Bhoja's thesis of Śṛṅgāra[13]. To him the main aesthetic feeling is erotic. Śṛṅgāra-Tattva is the essence of artistic experience and every other mode of emotion, as anger, fear or frustration, is only contributory to it. King Bhoja's thesis is monistic, and compares well with that of Kanovitch. According to the latter, when the mechanism of the society has been perfected and the last vestige of injustice removed, the only feeling which will be the source of joy and beauty to man is sex. According to Bhoja also

all joy-seeking through creation is art, and all joy-seeking is seeking intense experience through emotionalization of the Ego (रसनियतात्मशक्तेः).

(b) Hedonic Aesthetics reaches its culminating perfection in Rūpa Goswāmī, a scholastic philosopher. He defines and applies all aesthetic terms to the love-frolics of Rādha and Kṛṣṇa, the eternal man and woman. He takes Bhāva[15] to mean as the first dawn of erotic feeling which lends a rosy charm to the body. Hāva is the next stage when the same feeling overflows the body and mind. Last is the mature manifestation when the sex-emotion surges up to give a new grace, hela. In all the three stages, sex emotion is the central core in the various expressions of beauty.

Śobhā[16] is defined as that which lends charms to the elements by means of form and feast and the like. This definition is complete and correct, as it lays emphasis on the formal (Rūpa) and emotional (Bhoga) aspects of beauty. Beauty thus is the residuum which, even though realizable in and through the elements, transcends them. The transcendental phenomenon is Rūpa and Bhoga. Kānti is Śobhā when the same blazes forthwith the flame of erotic fire. In this progression of the beautiful, the elements are further subordinated to emotion, form to feast. In a painting, for instance, where the harmony of colour and form capture the vision and do not release the mind to enjoy the erotic suggestion rising from them, there cannot be said to be the Kānti form of beauty. The third is the stage of Dīpti[17]. Here the age, place, time, merits, etc., are all used for the full development of the erotic emotion. In a dramatic scene the whole context of the situation may be used to enhance the emotional effect. Or, when in a piece of musical performance, the formal relations are lost sight of, the text drowns the tune—then it may happen, as it does often in the moving sort of songs, that the motif rules, and everything else, even the musical harmony, works up the emotion

to the high pitch of absorption. This is the Dīpti form of beauty-experience.

If we draw a psychograph of aesthetic experience, representing both volume and height of emotion, then Dīpti will be the peak point or the climax, and Sobha and Kanti will represent the Exposition and Crisis respectively. The last is Mādhurya[18] or sweetness which is the *Denouement* in the drama of emotion. Rūpa Goswāmī defines Mādhurya as Cārutā or all round beauty. It is the form of equilibrium after the climax. It is, as it were, the life-giving experience of emotional drink when the maddening inebriation has been overcome. It is the persisting sweet flavour after the beauty-feast is over.

Cārutā is a common word for beauty. Its etymology indicates a deep dynamic meaning. It is not proved by the grammatical rules of Panini. It is an Uṇādi[19] word, derived from the root "चर" meaning 'to move' and 'to taste'. That which moves and tastes is cāru. An instinctual joy results from expenditure of energy; but in aesthetic experience, there is vital expansion and upward movement in the psycho-organism for re-orientation and rebuilding of life. Often enough, many troublesome complexes are broken up and knotty problems of life solved and understood in the moment of intense beauty-experience. The word 'cāru' more than any other word, brings out this dynamic implication of the 'beautiful'. Rūpa Goswāmī rightly describes Mādhurya as beauty (cārutā) of actions in all states.

(c) In our times, the poet Tagore has biven a perfection to the logic involved in this line of thought. According to him, beauty in art obeys the logic of Love. It is not for nothing that the beautiful is lovely*.

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*"पंडितेरा वलेन, ये सुन्दर ताहारा मध्ये विषम किछुई नाई; ताहार आपनार मध्ये आपनार परिपूर्ण सामंजस्य; ताहार कौन एकटि अंश अपर एकटि अंशेर सहित विवाद करे ना, जेद करिया अन्य सकल के छाड़ाइया उठे ना; ईर्ष्या वशतः स्वतंत्र

(d) Not satisfied with the intellectual approach to Reality, the Indian seers saw possibilities of sublimated existence through emotional development. They have given us the conception of Bhakti rasa, a state of Eudamonia and spiritual ecstasy which is a tremendously creative condition of the soul. The devotional cults, therefore, are basically artistic, and their object is the worship of the Beautiful. The Beauty is at once divine and spiritual, having no counterpart in physical reality. Viṣṇu, the Beautiful, is the symbol of cosmic rhythm and harmony, and the product of profound aesthetic experience—Rādha and Kṛṣṇa are the human incarnations of the divine couple, Lakṣmi and Viṣṇu. Much of India's art and many of her Bhakti cults centre round them.

The *Bhāgavata*[20] conceives of Bhakti rasa as a state of emotional equipoise and eudemonia resulting from the concentration of the entire instinctual energy and its re-direction towards a higher and rhythmic form of experience. Bhakti-rasa thus involves a rigorous ethical discipline and mental culture. It is not an empirical emotion. It transcends the psycho-physical order, and by purging the mind of its object-seeking conative urges, it initiates a highly charged spiritual condition, which is creative par excellence. The whole of the intellectual apparatus becomes archaic

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हइया मुख बांकाइया थाके ना। ताहार प्रत्येक अंश समग्रेर सुखे सुखी; तांहारा भावे आमरा ये आपनारा सुन्दर से केवल समग्र के सुन्दर तुलिवार जन्य। तांहारा यदि स्वस्वप्रधान हइत, ताहारा यदि सकलेई मनें करित, आर सकलेर चेये आमिएई मस्त लोक हईया उठिव, एक जन आर एक जनके ना मानित, ताहा हइले, ना ताहारा निजे सुन्दर हईत, ना तांहादेर समग्रटि सुन्दर हईया उठित।...अतएव देखा जाइतेछे, **यथार्थ ये सुन्दर से प्रेमेर आदर्श।** से प्रेमेर प्रभावेई सुन्दर हईयाछे, ताहार आद्यन्तमध्य प्रेमेरसूत्रे गाँथा।....इन्द्र धनुर रंगुलि प्रेमेर रंग ताहादेर मध्ये केमन मिल! तांहारा सकलेइ सकलेर जन्य जायगा राखियाछे, केह काहाकेओ दूर करिते चाय ना...गानेर सुरगुलि प्रेमेर सुर, ताहारा सकले मिलिया खेलाइते थाके, ताहारा परस्परके साजाइया देय, ताहारा आपनार संगिनीदेर दूर हइते डाकिया आने। एइ जन्यई सौन्दर्य मनेर मध्ये प्रेम जन्माइया देय, से आपनार प्रेमे अन्यके प्रेमिक करिया तूले, से आपनि सुन्दर हइया अन्य के सुन्दर करे।" रवीन्द्र ग्रन्थावली—आलोचना-सौन्दर्य ओ प्रेम P. ११५३

in its functioning when a new form of self-activity and self-shining processes are set in. The Gita calls this new form the divine vision by which the cosmic aspects are realized, and the mind is raised from the physical to the spiritual realm of beauty-experience.

Is not Bhakti-rasa a negative and regressive 'affectional attachment' or 'cathexis'? An emotion is said to be 'negative' if, frustrated in its natural fulfilment, it seeks a substitute fixation. And it is 'regressive', if the substitute is on a lower psycho-moral plane. Nārada[21] thinks that Bhakti is the pure form of Love. Love is a positive feeling, for it gives the greatest self-fulfilment through the object of love. Love negates the unlovely. Both Nārada and Śāṇḍilya[22] emphasize this negative side. But Madhusūdana brings out the positive nature of Bhakti. All emotions have the power of *liquifying the soul-substance*. In the liquid state, impressions are deepened. Here, the idea seems to be that emotions contribute the rich concreteness to our cognitions which otherwise remain jejune forms. Bhakti is experience of the *liquified soul*, forming an *emotional continuum of divine qualities*. God is bliss Himself, and in the moment of Bhakti emotion the Individual soul merges, as it were, in the ocean of joy. This concentration of the entire emotional energy in the divine contemplation is followed by a new awakening. Bhakti as a process thus becomes the process of emotional integration culminating in the internal balance and rhythm. Madhusūdana lays down ten stages of this process. Even emotions like anger, fear, jealousy, etc., lose their empirical character, and become forms of Rati (bliss) turned as they are towards Infinite Bliss. Another author[23] regards Bhakti-Rasa as contemplative or reiterative Rati, which is spontaneous and free from instinctive urges[24]. It is the pure and pristine form of libido. Its liquification in Bhakti-Rasa leads to a loosening of the sheaths which condition the functioning of the psycho-somatic apparatus. The state of Bhakti emo-

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F. 14

tion thus becomes the fountain of rhythmic delight and mother of many arts.

4. *Metapsychology of Emotion*

From the metaphysical point of view, beauty is the cosmic impulse of Nature moulding every phase of existence to its requirements of rhythm and form. The universe as the work of divine art is an articulate passion. The human creator and critic of art articulate the same passion through the same cosmic process. Prayer or spiritual communion is the way of both art-creation and art-appreciation. Art thus becomes the way of life and its perfection. Much of India's hieratic art conforms to this view.

A rival view now comes up for consideration, which regards art as a negative attitude towards life and its perpetual call for fresh adaptation. This is the view of Psychoanalysis, better called Meta-Psychology. Below we examine its claim and fitness for an adequate explanation of the process of art-creation, and symbolism in art.

Freud* thinks that the meta-psychologic depths hold

* (1) Covering of the body, which keeps abrest with civilization, Continuously arouses sexual curiosity and serves to supplement the sexual object by uncovering the hidden parts. This can be turned into the artistic ("sublimation") if the interest is turned from the genitals to the form of the body. The tendency to linger at this intermediary sexual aim of the sexually accentuated looking is found to a certain degree in most normals; indeed, it gives them the possibility of directing a certain amount of their libido to a higher artistic aim."

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(2) "I have no doubt that the concept of "beauty" is rooted in the soil of sexual stimulation and signified originally that which is sexually reciting. The more remarkable, therefore, is the fact that the genitals, the sight of which provokes the greatest sexual excitement, can really never be considered "beautiful". *Ibid*, p. 568.

(3) "Only in one field has the omnipotence of thought been retained in our own civilization, namely, in art. In art alone it still happens that man, consumed by wishes, produces something similar gratification of these wishes and this playing, thanks to artistic illusion, calls forth effects as if it were something real. We rightly speak of the magic of art and compare the artist with a magician. But this comparison is perhaps more important than it claims to be. Art, which certainly did not begin as art for arts' sake, originally served tendencies which today have for tke greater part ceased to exist. Among these we suspect various magic intentions." *Totem and Taboo*, p. 871.

a major part of the total human psyche. There[25] lives 'Id', a subliminal force, blindly seeking unlimited sex-satisfaction and dashing its monstrous head against the rigid rock of the Reality principle and the psycho-moral super-ego. The 'Id' is a chaos, a cauldron of seething excitements. Naturally, the id knows no values, no good and no evil, and no morality. The economic or the quantitative factor, which is so closely bound up with the pleasure-principle, dominates all its processes. Instinctual cathexes seeking discharge—that in our view, is all that the id contains.' Thus the very anatomy of the human self places it in an eternally tragic situation, and is the cause of all neurotic symptoms and complex-formations. Art is born in some compulsion-complex. It is auto-eroticism or the 'phallus-coitus play! Symbolism, according to Freud, is the way of the unconscious functioning. Kretschner[26], following him, regards art and mystic experience as 'simply an imaginative translation of erotic wish phantasies into spirituality'. The general conclusion of this line of thought is : "Non est magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae" (Seneca).

Jung's Philosophy of Art is his corollary from the Philosophy of the Unconscious. The Unconscious is the Mother of Libido, of all psycho-somatic energy and its manifestations in civilization and science. Just as in the Freudian system Masochism or the regressive death-seeking instinct is supposed to be an eternal thirst of the psyche, so Jung affirms the Mother-seeking tendency or incest wish as an undying urge of human nature. At bottom the position is the same : Human nature representing the peak of the evolutionary process naturally dreads to ascend further by perpetual attempts to create new forms for inner and outer adjustment. Regression[27] is the return to the original death-state from which life has sprung and evasion of the concrete and vital issue which it must face. This Jung calls introversion or self-incubation. "Through introversion one is ferti-

lized, inspired, regenerated and reborn from God[28]." In this state of 'self-incubation' which Jung identifies with Tapas, the horizon of individuality is crossed and the very springs of the primal rhythm stirred to intense creativity. "That is the secret of effective art. The creative process consists in an unconscious animation of the archetype and in a development and shaping of this image till the work is completed. The shaping of this primordial image is, as it were, a translation into the language of the present which makes it possible for every man to find again the deepest springs of life which otherwise be closed to him[29]."

The process of art-creation is thus the process of discovery by the introverted libido of 'the primordial image' in the depths of the Unconscious. "Recoiling from the unsatisfying present the yearning of the artist reaches out to that primordial image in the Unconscious which is best fitted to compensate the insufficiency and onesidedness of the spirit of the age. The man who speaks with the primordial image speaks with a thousand tongues; he entrances and overpowers, while at the same time he raises the idea he is trying to express above the occasional and the transitory into the sphere of the everlasting[30]. This image is the archetypal symbol of our deepest yearning and therefore 'it provokes unconscious participation' in the common feast of self-fulfilment. But for all that the creative genius in art is infantile and phantastic. According to Thorburn,[31] the creative process is dream-like, and the figures and symbols in a piece of art are made of dream-stuff, vitalized by the wish-phantasies of the artist. The Psycho-pathologists regard art as a product of the hysterogenic mechanism, as a "sort of atavistic manner of reaction, a tendance a la reversion."

Where art is no more than 'escape', the inspiration of art is rightly a pathogenic symptom. There is an escapist

art which seeks to give us surrogate satisfaction; but that is to be distinguished from one whose very aim is the perfection of the vital apparatus by intensifying its creative power. Even Psychology has grown to deny the conditioning power of the brain which is regarded as an 'organ of choice' and action and not a directing or centralising agent Its function is to 'canalize' and translate into action our consciousness which is 'virtual action'. There has been a change of outlook in regard to Mental Dynamics, for "we do not go from the perception to the idea, but from the idea to the perception; and the essential process of recognition is not centripetal, but centrifugal[32]" Associative affinities, says Dríesh[33], cannot explain mental life which consists in constant enrichment of meaning. This enrichment itself requires a directing and ordering agency. With this orientation of the Mental Science, we feel safe in saying that there can be a life beyond the normal where, as a result of progressive integration of the psycho-cerebral system, the libidinal current becomes creative and the flow more rhythmic.

Artist's is this supernormal existence. Art is born in the meta-psychic experience which is positive and progressive. The main charm of art-creation is not the discovery of the 'primordial image', but revelation of a transcendent plane beyond the empirical. The artist is the yogin, and "art and meditation are creative states of the human mind. The highest form of meditation or perfect absorption, which has no peculiar subject, may be described as a spiritual vacuum in which the universal forces of our soul can manifest themselves[34]." Art seems to emanate from an emptiness of the soul because the empirical should be denied to let in the cosmic current of life. "In order to hear the artist must be silent, in order to see he must close his eyes to the external forms, in order to feel the cosmic rhythm he must arrest his breath and master his heart,—and in order to be carried by the eternal streams he must give up his selfish desires. . . The hidden

way that leads down to this source is the path of meditation and absorption, and the vessel in which the water of life is brought up to the surface is[35] art." While not denying the conception of escapist, pathogenic art of Psycho-analytic schools, we only affirm that much of India's art is not of this brand, and, that in India art-inspiration mainly draws from the soulful fountain of creative delight, Brahmānand, the infinite bliss.

5. *Bharata Aesthetics*

Bharata was first to 'psychologize' Indian Aesthetics and to build up a system of thought. His approach is inductive and empirical, encyclopedic and analytic. He is the founder of Indian Psycho-aesthetics. He studies psychology and physiology of emotion and concludes that an emotion never occurs singly in the mind. An emotion is the dominant note in a general psycho-somatic reverberation. The first appeal of art is to the senses, and through senses, art aims to awaken an emotional rapport, a rhythmic harmonious flow of inner life. Below we outline his psycho-aesthetic approach to the problem of beauty in art.

Nāṭya is not *a* form of art, but *the* form of art. It is both of the ear[36] and eye, graphic and auditory. It is the complete form of art. Round it cluster and move all other arts like satellites round an orbit. The construction of the stage requires all the beautifying devices of architecture and sculpture. Bharata gives in detail the measurements and forms of suitable stages. Then drama and dramatization involve dance, music, poetry and painting. Bharata therefore, regards the histrionic art as central while other arts as subservient to it.

Nāṭya is miniature representation[37] of the world of human affections, the noble and exemplary aspects of society. The aim is recreation of life through emotional awakening,—the life which undergoes constant wear and tear by its stern

demands. The aim is thus partly aesthetic and partly utilitarian. The drama should breathe an air of realism, including all moods and affections of the human mind, its virtuous tendencies and pettiness, but all in such a generalized form that without making personal pricking it turns the spectator towards the future. Drama becomes moralizing through its power of re-orientation of the mind. Bharata lays full emphasis on the realistic character of dramatic art, but his realism is touched with social idealism.

Bharata stresses the depiction side of art. Depiction[38] should be by types, and the types should be natural par excellence. Thus incidentally Bharata is led to discover types[39] of men and women, their gait and gestures under various emotional conditions. His three-type theory-divine[40], human and demoniac,—seems to draw directly from three fundamental realities of the Sāṅkhya Metaphysic, viz., Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Besides these natural types, there are social types also representing every stratum of society, every functionary and the entire rank and file. If the drama is to be the world itself on the stage scale, each type must clearly represent its typical qualities and traits most conspicuously.. Bharata examines the fitness of each type for the stage and minutely details the stagecraft.

Bharata, however, cannot be accused of cold realism or flat naturalism as devoid of aesthetic charm. Firstly, he grasps the most prominent and representative traits of a type, which are not distorted from the norm by peculiar circumstances. There is a selection based on the class-essence. Secondly, he stresses on nature, which seldom presents its 'natural' kinds' in the purest form. Thus alone his depiction is able to transcend the individual and present the universal aspects of life and society. Thus also the appeal is to the eye as well as to the mind. Bharata is fully aware that the stage world is not the real world, and that he cannot create the reality-illusion on the stage, and, that if

he could, what can be the charm in such a factual presentation? And yet the departures cannot go too far without becoming fantastic. Bharata thus is face to face with the difficulty of that view of art which takes its inspiration from outside. He grapples with the difficulty by his distinction of the real (लोकधर्मी) and the dramatic (नाट्यधर्मी); and the true art of drama is the marvellous mingling of both. Abhinava[41], his commentator, defines the first as that which the artist presents in a matter-of-fact way without idealization or adornment from his side. But, he adds, the poet has to take the help of aesthetic imagination to enrich the real with embellishments, emotions and body-movements. Nature even has got to be transcended, Abhinava emphatically concludes, by the creative efforts of the artist.

Dance is the important constituent of drama. Bharata[42] raises two relevant questions which he answers satisfactorily. (1) What is the nature of dance which the experts regard as the giver of all goods (2) What interest does dance serve, which is not connected with the meaning of the song, nor is the conveyer of any meaning at all Bharata replies that dance is to serve no specific purpose, its main raison d'etre being its power of generating beauty. Love of dance is in the very nature of man. It is auspicious and recreative. And it is enough to justify it. His method being analytic, he first enumerates and defines the minimum unit of dance, which he calls Karaṇa. Karaṇa[43] is the harmonious movement of hands and feet. These are one hundred and eight in number. These in a further synthesis combine into body-movements (अंगहार). They are thirty two. The other such harmonious combinations or movements are Cari, Khaṇḍa[44] and Maṇḍala. There is also the trembling movement of certain parts, known as Recaka. The sitting postures are called Piṇḍī. Dance as Nṛtta comes out of these in various pleasing forms in accompaniment of the musical forms. Bharata stresses this wedding of dance and

orchestral music, because both of them he regards as capable of producing a vital and moving pure harmoney of form. He lays down as a rule that in the Tandava form of dance only those experts should play on the various instruments who know the musical relation of several constitutive elements in a dance-form, and that the orchestra must follow the rhythmic movement of dance. The same is to be done in the tender forms (सुकुमार) of dances.

Bharata's treatment of Abhinaya is the master-piece of behaviourlogy. All emotional states, moods and mental climates reflect on the sensitive periphery of human body. To suppress them is unhealthy. To express them through proper body-movements is the highest pinnacle of creative arts. The whole drama is grand Abhinaya. Bharata treats with minute details Abhinaya, the expressive form of art-creation, of different parts of the body, the eye, brow, pupil, lips, chin and so on. Thus in an aesthetically pleasing form of dance, the entire body becomes the galvanic centre of expressive movements creating a perfect and pure form of harmony.

This brings us nearest to Bharata's conception of aesthetic quality in a creative art. Beauty is expression (Abhinaya). The human body is the fittest vehicle of expression, because this can become tremendously expressive through various limbs, voice, dress and moods, and, can satisfy most completely our aesthetic sensibility for form, colour, proportion, mass and movement in a single stroke. Abhinaya thus is the most powerful articulation of the entire human form. It is the whole body speaking in a thousand tongues appealing to the eye and ear, and, through them to the entire man by creating a dynamic harmony, both formal and emotional. This point is important, for it is the differentia between Bharata's and the Western aesthetics of dance, and of music. Dance as creative of formal and emotional harmony has both the form and the theme. An emotion

cannot be purely and abstractly formal without a clear and complete theme. A form of dance, therefore, producing a total and concrete vital harmony, becomes lyrically touched with a narrative quality, and, even tends to become frankly descriptive in its decadent age. This point is confirmed by the history of Bharata dance in India, which is scattered and applied all over the country to suit all sorts of devotional and social themes. A pure form of dance aiming to produce a mathematical harmony of movements is devoid of any such possibility.

Its intricate grammar aside, Indian music distinctly shows its native character as productive of concrete vital harmony. Purely from the standpoint of form, "the Rāga may be best defined as a melody-mould or the ground plan of a song.[48]" "Indian music is purely a melodic art, devoid of any harmonised accompaniment other than a drone. In modern European art, the meaning of each note of theme is mainly brought out by the notes of the chord which are heard with it; and even in unaccompanied melody, the musician hears an implied harmony.[49]" But apart from this Rāga has a 'definite ethos', and as a marvel of composition there is the measured and remarkably sensitive rise and fall as in an epic. Bharata[50] as the chief exponent of Indian Music connects each microtonal division of the octave and each tonal complex with a definite emotional state. Thus, Rāga not only creates *cerebral music* through awakening of brain vibrations, but also a deeper *emotional music* through mental vibrations. "Indian music is mainly contemplative even in its execution.[51]" It therefore, has a dynamic rhythm. "The climax of the rhythm, the point where the gathering momentum of the song exhausts itself for the time being is only to begin again. *This climax is an integral part of Indian music.*[52]"

As the grammarian of Indian music, Bharata expounds the rules of musical composition. Of aesthetic interest

in it is his delineation of a 'musical form'. All the microtones (श्रुति) enter into the composition of a Rāga to form an aesthetic whole. "Together, they form a cluster which forms the vital part of the Rāga. This constellation gathers round a dominating note, (Vādi, called the King of notes, e.g., re in Sārang) in the forepart of the octave. . . . having its counterpart in the subsidiary dominant (Samvādi, what follows the Vādi as minister of the King). The predominance of the regnant note is displayed by oftener recurrence[53]." Thus, a Rāga is the musical whole of concordant notes, having at the sametime an emotional crescendo and cadence.

In fine, we consider Bharata's theory of Rasa which forms an undercurrent of his entire thinking on Aesthetics and his lasting contribution to its subsequent developments. He finds the secret of beauty delight in the permanent and primary dispositions : Our instinctive[54] heritage is transformed into art-experience by means of aesthetic causation. Underlying Rasa emotion, therefore, there is a strong native urge. The onus probandi of such view is : By what means the goal-seeking conative urge is diverted from its natural channel to produce a beauty-thrill, which is essentially non-conative ? Alexdander[55] has sought to resolve the mystery of art-creation into a single 'propensity' to construct. McDougall[56] reduces it to 'curiosity' and 'wonder.' These explanations seem to be inadequate, devoid as they are of any serious attempt to formulate a view of 'aesthetic causation' and response.

A formula, known as 'Rasa Sūtra[57]', contains Bharata's theory of Aesthetic Causation[58], which he himself has fully expanded. Let us take a few of his terms used in the statement of the law.

The first such term is Bhāva[59]. In the context of Art-Philosophy, Bhāva means that which articulates the artistic meanings in the mind suggested by word, sound, movement

or emotional expression. Certain chords in the mind and brain have to be awakened to realise beauty, which therefore, becomes an original experience. This way of artistic articulation of the mind is the function of Bhāva. Vibhāva[60] is the aesthetic cause. It is not the physical stimulus. Vibhāva is the artistic meaning charged with suggestive capacity. Thus Vibhāvas, formed into a setting[61], work upon the mind which begins to respond and reverberate to the aesthetic suggestions received from outside. The whole setting of Vibhāvas may have an erotic suggestion; then we experience Śṛngāra-Rasa, and so on. Thus, the responsive human soul worked on by the suggestive artistic meanings (विभाव) is caused to be articulated (भावित). A Vibhāva setting, further, never produces a unilinear effect either on the mind or body. There is a general psycho-organic resonance culminating in the development of Rasa-emotion. The body-resonance is called Anubhāva, and, the mental resonance is known as Vyabhicārī-Bhāva[62]. Thus in a total aesthetic causation of Rasa-emotion, the native urge is awakened by the joint working of Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārī-Bhāva. "Through a harmonious blending and representation of appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicārī-Bhāvas there arises in the audience a certain climax of emotion, invariably accompanied by a thrill and sense of joy, and this is Rasa, or aesthetic pleasure.[63]" This in brief is the modus of aesthetic causation.

In Bharata's Aesthetics, the law of aesthetic causation is sufficient to distinguish art-emotion from empirical and instinctual emotion. Bharata, and, more his commentator[64] Abhinava further, lay down that in a work of art, emotions have formal relations, so that a sort of 'consonantia diversorum' is realized. In the unity of diverse Rasa emotions, the point of denouement (निर्वहण) is important, where the emotion of wonder should predominate. This harmony of form is the crucial factor to transfer the empirical into the

artistic quality. Paulhan,[65] an English psychologist, regards aesthetic emotion as resulting from a conscious inhibition of the conative urges or their weak but diffused stimulation so that there is neither an actual feeling nor maturing of the feeling into action. "The performance of a fine but terrible drama will give us pleasure if the tendencies that arise in us are checked sufficiently early to give us merely the impression of their complexity and their systematization; but if we do not inhibit them speedily enough. . . we shall experience a mixture of pleasure and pain that may be converted into actual suffering. . . The aesthetic emotion may be regarded as due to the weak stimulation of a large number of tendencies." Other psychologists also who must base their aesthetic theory on the instincts of man must find a subterfuge to transform the empirical into artistic, such as we find in Bharata and Paulhan.

This question of Psycho-aesthetics is a part of the larger question of Philosophy, namely, the question of transformation of Nature by artistic activity of the mind. The question not only evades any solution but also raises complicated issues if we regard external Nature as the source of art-inspiration, and our instinctive experience as the ground of all art-emotion. A true theory of art has to be necessarily mystical and idealistic, for aesthetic activity has got to be regarded as original and creative activity of the mind. Emotional energy which manifests itself in instinctual functioning and supplies a resistence and stiffening to the 'conative drives' in meeting the situation, performs altogether a different function. In purpose and orientation it is different, and involves psycho-neural mechanisms different from those in the emotional experience of beauty in art. Hence, as a general criticism of Bharata's Psycho-aesthetics, it may be urged that he has confused the role of aesthetic and empirical emotions. An aesthetic emotion is originally different from the instinctual : Beauty-emotion is experienced when the

original psycho-somatic energy (ordinarily funded and canalized in the instincts) is liquified and expanded, and creates internal rhythm and rapport, and thus begets an overwhelming and yet calm sense of self-feeling. To say this is to return to the metaphysical conception of emotion, to which Bharata could not rise, bound as he was by his psychological standpoint. Beauty-emotion is pure and 'platonic', felt when, in Paulhand's phrase, the entire soul-energy is 'inhibited' from goal-seeking and diverted towards self-creation and self-fulfilment.

Bharata's pluralistic Aesthetics had many reactions as it had a legion of supporters. We choose to consider below only two monistic forms. As is natural with Monism, it challenges plurality from the metaphysical point of view, and never rejects the empirical many. So, according to the first, the Supreme[66] self is of the form of light realizable through self-experience. It has, however, a power of individuation by which it realizes itself in the objective empirical world. The self thus has dual existence. From the Supreme Self, under egoistic impulse, start all cognition (ज्ञानप्रभा), emotion (आनन्दप्रभा) and conation (क्रियाप्रभा). By their further combinations, they give rise to Sattva, Rajas and Tamas tendencies. Thus Ego, as the principle of individuation, manifests the light of the Self through the Mind, sense-organs and objects. The self-same Ego, flowing out through the channels of the senses and fixating on the external objects, is transformed into the several Rasa emotions. Śṛngāra emotion, for instance, is produced when the self, under the influence of Sattva and Rajas tendencies, is worked on by an appropriate set of aesthetic causes. It is the same Ego undergoing changes under the change in the nature of aesthetic causation. This school of thought is attributed to the name of Śiva.

Bhavabhūti, the poet-philosopher, seems to be the spiritual descendent of Vālmiki. Rasa, according to him is one, and that is Karuṇa[67] (pathos). There is no place for

any other principal emotions in the world where the order of thnigs is so irreversible, apathetic to human affections, and without response to man's deeper sympathies. Other emotions and Rasa experiences rise and fall like waves and bub bles on the surface of water, but the real substratum remains pathetic. Rāma's later life is the fit art-theme. It is the tale of half-realized love. Bhavabhūti seems to work on a hint thrown out by Bharata himself. Equipoise of the mind is the common matrix of all emotions and moods, which emanate from it and in it they are dissolved when causation ceases[68].

Beautiful and Sublime

Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas* contain germs of a monistic Aesthetic Philosophy. He does not postulate multiple enduring dispositions which are transformed into Rasa emotions by creative art. There is one and unique Kāma[69] tattva, the primitive sex-energy, infinite and undying. By some inherent necessity, the primal energy bifurcates into male and female tendencies. The entire reality is the manifestation of the primal energy realising itself in the masculine-feminine[70] form of polarity. This bifurcation not only fulfils its biological end, but is also the fountain of beauty-creation. For the two poles of primal energy ever seek to lose their individual identity into unity of one being, impelled by the condition of their original[71] oneness. The climax of joy is reached in that fruitful unity, and even the highest truth realized.

Śṛngāra is the monarch of Rasa emotions. Woman in her full bloom of youth presents the perfect paragon of beauty. She is the eternal spring of all art-inspiration. Music and visual art, dynamic harmony of movement and static harmony of form and colour, the effect of mass and volume, and that of design and pattern, that is, all the prime requirements of all arts, and to crown all, the deepest satisfaction of instinct and spirit at the same time, are met in the

body of woman, which glows with the clearest flame of libido. The laws of all the creative arts flow from, and, realise themselves in the feminine frame. Bhartṛhari puts woman in the centre of his Aesthetic Philosophy. This seems to be thesis of his *Śṛṅgāra-Śataka*.

But that is not all. We have not to consume all the fire in us in sex-seeking, and must turn weary to the world of spirit. This turning our back to the biologically and aesthetically the most intense urge involves us in the greatest self-sacrifice. Out of this turning—the grave crisis in poet's life—is born the quality of art we call sublime. But before the state of Sublime is attained, the artist suffers from emotional extremes.[72] The woman begins to appear as the cup of nectar and poison at once. The tragedy of sex-love touches the peak of pathos when, in a Śloka, Bhartṛhari depicts the condition of a traveller, burning with love wishes, to return home at the arrival of rains to see his beloved. "Oh, what boots it to go home if the beloved is not alive (for being dead passion-striken); or, what boots it to go home if she is found alive (for then she has no burning passion for him) : thus disturbed at the sight of new cloudy trails, the traveller decides not to go home at all.[73]"

There is thus the bridge from Śṛṅgāra to Vairāgya. No single English term can exactly and completely render Vairāgya, for our author gives such a rich and varied content to it that many terms severally and collectively convey the total sense. We consider them below.

The *Śataka* on Śṛṅgāra opens with invocation to Kāma, and, very significantly, the *Vairāgya-Śataka* opens with prayer to the deity Kāmāri,[74] the slayer of Kāma. Vairāgya thus is the negative reaction to Kāma. First, there is the sense of frustration, a recoil to the dead past. It is the state of repentance and remorse. By its nature, it is barren and cannot produce art. It can give us at best the art of sighs and sobs.[75]

This negative attitude, however, does not last long. It deepens into quietism. Crying over spilt milk leads us nowhere. There is return of a healthy outlook : what if the intense joys of life have not been enjoyed[76] So much of the religious art of mediaeval India and Europe, with melancholy arches and meditative poses, resounds with a clear quietistic note. This attitude seems to be quite fertile, for the Jain and Buddhist quietism gave such a strong impetus to creative genius in India that the third and fourth centuries saw invention of countless art-forms filled with spiritual vigour.

We must remember that Vairāgya seeks the fulfilment of libido and not its virtual negation, for in it too we create a state of rest, only more subtle and stable. Quietism thus develops into Escapism. Reality binds us to the inexorable laws of space, time and causation. It draws an impassable distinction between things perceived and things created by imagination. Artists, Philosophers and mystics seek, therefore, freedom to create things in imagination which reality denies them. All art and Philosophy in this sense are escapist.

Escapism is one form of Vairāgya. It is the most creative state, when the Ego attains freedom and subdues the reality-principle. Fictions, virile Romanticism[77] of the Russian type, much of music and painting might not have been produced but for the escapist attitude of the creative Ego. Imagination borrows strength to soar to celestial heights from escapism.

These three forms of Vairāgya, viz., Pessimism, Quietism and Escapism, are forms of introversion, with little or no psycho-organic integration. There are two other ways leading to the same goal of self-extinction or nirvana, which require massing and marshalling of entire life-force. The first is to accept the existence of fate, the invisible and inexorable law of life. *One who will accept life must accept its*

law. Most of the epics of the world, the dramatic art and poetry, heroic and defiant poses in sculptures, cloud-kissing spiral minerets and pillars, the Cross and the battles for chivalry and pride, and, the pyramids and Stupas, brim over with pathos, resulting from an intense sense of struggle against the almighty force of fate.[78]

A higher note of the greatest aesthetic value is the feeling of the Sublime, which means the vision of the infinite fire burning at the heart of the universe, and identification with it. It is the state of eternal calm undisturbed by the catastrophes of life. It is the evershining smile which scoffs at the storms and watches the trains of thundering events with perfect calm. This composure and internal harmony results from the merger of the limited personality[79] into the limitless. It is the consciousness of an identification with super-personality. The *Mahābhārata* rings with distinct note of Sublime, and we reach the noblest conception of it in the character of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

To conclude, Bhartṛhari's Aesthetics regards Śṛṅgāra and Vairāgya as two art-emotions or creative passions. At bottom they are one, as the positive and negative fulfilments of libido. Vairāgya is the way to de-sexualize the libidinal urge. Art-emotion corresponding to Vairāgya is Śama or Śānti in Sanskrit literature. Sama seems to be the right rendering of the word Sublime. Kṛṣṇa's earlier and later life as depicted by Vyāsa in the *Bhāgavata* is the appropriate example of artistic presentation of libido in its sexualized and de-sexualized forms.

8. *Croce and Art-creation*

Bhavabhūti and Bhartṛhari leave us the conclusion that art-activity originates in the emotional reactions of man to his own nature and the nature of Reality. The panorama of life must pass on, unmindful of the eternal thirst for union—this we saw is the mainspring of art in Bhavabhūti. Croce

too regards aesthetic as the primary activity of the mind, but its initiation he regards as extra and not from any deeper realization. Croce starts from the Sensuous, and thinks that the sensuous fills out with emotion through intuition. Bhavabhūti starts with a realization which, seeking to concretise itself, fills out with colour and form. Intuition is the first spiritual contact with the sensible world. Sensation being regarded as 'the limiting concept' and not a concrete fact, this first contact begins with image-production. This is the 'first', because soon after it begins the logical-conceptual activity which not only distorts and abstracts the 'first' concrete experience, but also raises questions of truth and falsity.

"Intuition gives us a knowledge of things in their concretness and individuality. . . . It is the undifferentiated unity of perception of the real and of the simple image of the possible[80]."

It is 'the whole of our experience' complete and concrete even without the logical processes which start the next moment.

"That first instant in multiplying and dilating gives place to the life of art. Without the first spark there would not be the great flame. Those who are the artists in the eminent sense have the power to persist longer than other men in the moment of pure sensation or intuition, and have the power of aiding others to persist in it. Artists keep the innocent and attentive look of childhood[81]." (Croce)

The second point of contrast between Bhavabhūti and Croce is in regard to the nature of lyricism. Art to both of them is essentially lyrical. It is an overflow of nature which springs from the fulness of realization, and transforms the experience lyrically by its power of rhythm, according to Bhavabhūti. To Croce 'it is lyrical, for it springs from within and gives expression to what is internal, not external.' But, we must hasten to add, 'what is internal' in Croce is 'pure sensation' or intuition received from out-

side in the moment of immediate apprehension. We may also note in passing that according to Croce Mind as the concrete creative process is characterised by 'knowing' and 'doing'. Aesthetic activity is the 'immediate form of knowing' which 'apprehends the living palpitating reality'. Logical is the other form of knowing. The two forms of 'doing' are utilitarian and ethical. "In the first moment of its activity all reality is presented as beauty; in the second moment, as truth; in the third moment, as utility; and in the fourth moment as goodness[82]." There is thus no place for a lyrical quality based on emotional rhythm in Croce.

9. *Aesthetic Effect*

Bharata defined the nature of aesthetic causation as the working of Vibhāvas (aesthetic meanings and suggestive symbols), anubhāvas and Vyabhicārībhāvas (the presentation of the body-mind reverberations) so as to produce Rasa or beauty-experience. This definition is common to all forms of artistic presentation. Now, we consider the nature of aesthetic effect as it is produced in the mind of the connoisseur. Aesthetic experience being of the nature of communication through the medium of art and a bipolar process, between the creator and critic, the understanding of cause and effect is of equal value. The artist and the enjoyer are emotionally *en rapport* in the moment of enjoyment.

The common effect of all artistic presentation is the feeling of 'release' from the bondage of individuality, which Psycho-analysis regards as the 'liberation of blocked life.' There is no doubt a dissolution of painful complex formations in the mind and a dawning upon of new light. Indian art-philosophers have regarded art-experience as a feeling of 'self-absorption', not sinking to lower levels of life, but as emergence of higher planes and more integrated order of emotional existence. For art is to the Indians one form of discipline of life.

But each Rasa has its own peculiar effect on the mind. Ānanda and his commentator, Abhinava, have given us a fully developed psycho-aesthetics of the enjoyer's mind. In the enjoyment of erotic and pathetic Rasa emotions there is, Ānanda[83] says, progressive *liquification* of the soul. The human psyche in its day-to-today existence is hardened into a matter-of-fact self and involved in its petty joys and sorrows. In the experience of Sṛṅgāra and Karuṇa emotions, the blocked internal springs of joy open up and let a new current of vitality pass into the soul. This experience is characterized as sweetness. In the heroic and terrible types of Rasa-emotions, we feel no 'liquification', but an 'illumination' of the soul[84]. It is a feeling of energy and results from an intensification of life-force. If in the first type of experience we have a feeling of 'repose', in the second we feel 'movement'.

The approach of Indian Aesthetics to 'Laughter' and 'Wonder' as Rasa emotions is functional, and, at once, corrective and comprehensive of some new theories about them. In the first place, the aesthetic quality of laughter and wonder is a common element to other Rasa emotions. Consequently, in them we taste both 'sweetness' and 'energy' as a result of liquification and illumination of the soul respectively. In the second place, there is a feeling of 'expansion' and 'growth' Thus these Rasa emotions not only lead to the discharge of arrested libido-energy[85], but also advance and integrate it to a higher plane. This positive and dynamic aspect has been overlooked by modern theories of laughter. To Freud*, it is an abnormal expression of the suppressed sex-wish. It is a kind of neurotic joy, only divulging in an abrupt manner the concealed complexes. McDougall[86] regards it as Nature's 'safety vale' for letting out the emotional

*K. Fisher—"wit is a playful judgment."

Jean Paul—"Freedom begets wit and wit begets freedom." Wit is nothing but free play of ideas.

overcharge of the mind invaded by an induction of primitive sympathy at some sad sight[87]. Bergon's theory of 'Rire'[88] also makes no advance, for to him laughter arises when the mind as the creative surge of life everswelling with constant renewals dashes against mechanism and feels blocked momentarily. By an analysis of all occasions of laughter, he concludes that it arises whenever there is a tendency of elân vital to freeze, to stratify, to repeat, that is, tendency towards the mechanical.

These three theories are not wrong, for we do have neurotic, sympathetic or mechanical laughters. Bharata regards laughter as a secondary aesthetic experience emerging from Śṛṅgāra or Eros. The role of comic (assigned to Vidūṣka) is to bring to light the lurking sex-wishes, so that there is no selt-deception. When laughter arises from half-comic-half-tragic circumstances, such as deformity, etc., we have several kinds of laughter different on different cultural levels. But these theories are partial and negative[89]. Laughter not only performs a major mental operation on the psychic sores, but also heals them up. Not only heals them up; Laughter in an artistic form, definitely and positively, braces and builds up and marshalls the mental energy for fresh adventures.

10. *The Process of Rasa-enjoyment*

We close up this account by a discussion of the process of Rasa-enjoyment which indicates an important law of aesthetic consciousness. The law[90] is, negatively, that Rasa-enjoyment is neither personal nor impersonal[91], neither true nor false, nor yet illusory. It is, affirmatively, enjoyed as a blissful contemplation by one whose aesthetic sensibility and power of imaginative[92] sympathy bring him *en rapport* with the object of art. *The person in his native purity is psycho-aesthetically fit for beauty-experience*. The person is said to be 'pure' when he has risen above the meum-teum distinction.

Induction of artistic *sympathy* between two living poles, the enjoyer and art, is possible when, their temporal and spatial peculiarity shed off, they stand out in their uniqueness which is their universality. Art, by its powers of universal appeal, reduces us, and calls upon us to reduce ourselves to our *community-essence* or 'pure' nature. This process has been named as 'Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa' in Indian Aesthetics.

The author of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* quotes also the view of Śaiva Philosophy.[94] The spiritual nature of Jīva, according to it, is characterized by Rāga, Vidyā and Kalā. Rāga is the emotional capacity by which he is rendered capable of enjoying pleasure and pain. Though the world is a mixture of both, yet on account of Rāga, he enjoys it all the same. So also in Art the same Jīva has an attitude of enjoyment. Vidyā is the manifesting power. The world of sensory qualities is presented to us through Vidyā. Kalā[95] is the cause of illumination of beauty-sense in us. It is this which makes the conscious self restless for beauty-experience. Thus the relation of enjoyer and enjoyed issues from the three natural capacities of the Jīva.

Ānanda and Abhinava, two very genial thinkers on Indian Aesthetics, have given their view of aesthetic enjoyment which they call Rasacarvaṇa[96] (रसचर्वण). Abhinava teaches that *art appeals to the whole man*. This view of aesthetic value compares well with Freudian Ethics as interpreted by E.B.[97] Holt. Evil arises when a wish, creating a physiological attitude, causes a conflict with another equally potent attitude. Virtue results when the conflict is resolved at a higher and more inclusive level of nervous integration. Thus, as Virtue is the total reaction of the perfectly integrated psycho-physical organism, so beauty is the complete emotional reaction of the perfectly attuned soul. Further, he tells us that Rasa-enjoyment results from a capacity for self-merger[98] in the object. He also quotes Bharata in support of his veiw, which is that a contemplation of the object

which is in emotional harmony with the self causes Rasa-expreience pervading the whole body. This attitude of contemplative self-merger is what transforms a feeling of virtual wretchedness[99] into an enjoyable experience of Pathos. By the same process even a Vibhāva[100], Anubhāva or Vyabhicāribhāva becomes aesthetically enjoyable. This is not at all a process of attenuation or abstraction. On the contrary it perfects an emotion by making it creative. Abhinava[101] emphatically concludes that this process of Rasacarvaṇa is nothing like perceptual, inferential, scriptural, or mystic or revelational type of knowledge. Different from these, yet it is a positive experience of enjoyment. It becomes extra-ordinary as it is caused by aesthetic meanings of things (Vibhāva) intensified by emotional harmony (हृदयसंवाद).

(To be Continued)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

NĀNĀRTHA-RATNAMĀLĀ of Irugappa Daṇḍādhinātha critically edited by Bellikoth Rāmachandra Śharma, Professor, Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit learning, Darbhanga, pp. 6, 141, 139, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1954. Price Rs. 15.

KOŚAKALPATARU of Viśvanātha, edited by M. M. Patkar and K. V. Krishnamurthy Sarma. Deccan, College, Sanskrit Dictionary Department, pp. 6, 315, Fascicule 1, Poona, 1957. Price Rs. 20.

We are very happy that the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Department has been given the compiling and editing of the New Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles, on the lines of the great Oxford Dictionary. As a preliminary step of the survey of the materials, the above two works on Lexicography have been published; and we warmly commend the same to the study of all critical scholars.

The first work is a lexicon of homonyms written by Irugappa the Daṇḍādhinātha—the Minister of Law or Chief Justice in the court of Harihara II of the Vijayanagar Empire who reigned between 1379—1406 A. D. The author therefore must have lived somewhere between 1350—1425 A.D. The text consisting of 2641 lines is printed in 141 pages; and this is followed by an alphabetical list of the words with explanatory meaning in English.

The second work is the first portion of the *Kośakalpataru* and contains 7459 lines. This lexicon one of the biggest of its kind and containing more than 5000 verses is the work of Viśvanātha whose patron was King Jagatsimha of Udaipur (Mewar) of the 17th century A.D.

It is noted by the Editor that there are manuscripts of the work in the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍār at Udaipur and that they could not be procured for utilization of the present edition. This reflects the present difficult condition of the editing of new works from manuscripts. In this connection we would invite the attention of the Government to their onerous duty of arranging for making at least photostat copies available to scholars in these days of such advanced and scientific printing in case the manuscript owners do not like to part with their Mss. While the Dictionary is in the stage of compilation we would give the following for the consideration of the Government. The materials collected should be submitted to various scholars for their critical study and for their suggestions as to additions, etc. All the compilation connected with these should be submitted to them. Sufficient time should be given for their remarks as also a decent remuneration for the portion of the allotted work. With such co-operation alone, the Government would be doing its duty towards this great task. No useful purpose would be served by pointing the omissions and necessary corrections after the Dictionary is published; for, *inter alia* a second corrected edition may not be had within half a century. Again, a meeting of scholars say once in two years preferably at Poona itself, for a discussion of the collected matter should also be effected; costly though it would be, it is necessary to point out that there is no other way of assessing the vast material collected and to be collected. If these steps are taken, the Dictionary would be the joint product of all the scholars in India. The Deccan College also should welcome this work as from colleagues. In this way alone could we really produce a Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles on the lines of the English Oxford Dictionary and worthy of the great name of India. —A. S. Nataraj Ayyar

TARAPOREWALA MEMORIAL VOLUME, published by the Deccan College Research Institute, 1958, pp. x, 390.

This sumptuous memorial volume consists of 43 essays by the friends and admirers of the late Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala who was one of the best linguists of India well-versed in English, Sanskrit, Avesta, French and German—all of which he taught as professor. He had the distinction of being the first Professor of comparative Philology at the University of Calcutta and the first president of the Linguistic Society of India. He had several works to his credit on Avesta and Philology. His '*Elements of the Science of Language*' (Second edition 1951) is a favourite with students of Comparative Philology.

The articles in the volume are on various topics of Indology and especially of Philology and are of uniformly high quality and would be welcomed by scholars. For instance, the article on "कप्यासं पुण्डरीकम्" by J- A. B. Von Buitenen sets at rest the long controversy which had been raging over the meaning of this veritable apple-of-discord passage in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* I. 6. 6-7 and acquits Śaṅkara of giving any sinister meaning to the passage as it is clearly shown that he is only quoting the meaning of the Vṛttikāra before him.

LE TATTVABINDU de Vācaspati Miśra, Edition critique, Traduction et Introduction Par Madeleine Biardeau. Institut Francais D' Indologie Pondichery, 1956, pages 6, xxx, 60, 32.

This is a critical edition of the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspati Miśra I by the French lady scholar of the Institute of Indology at Pondichery. The previous editions of the work in the *Paṇḍita* and of V. A. Ramaswami Śastri have been used together with two new manuscripts—one from

the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona and the other being the Manuscript belonging to the personal collection of Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra, the Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

The result is an excellent text in Devanāgarī script (with variant readings) in 32 pages together with a translation in French in 60 pages with an introduction in English and French in 30 pages.

The *Tattvabindu* deals with the problem of verbal knowledge "in quite original ways which remain strange to the West" (Foreword p. xvi). And we congratulate the young lady Research Scholar for having successfully introduced the Sanskrit philosophical text to the French readers.

TRIṢAṢṬIŚALĀKĀ PURUṢACARITA by Acharya Śri Hemacandra, Vol. IV, Books VI & VII. Translated into English by Helen M. Johnson, Gaekwad's Oriental Series *No.* C xxv, pages xxxi and 409. Price Rs. 35, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

This work is a translation into English of the life of eleven Tirthaṅkaras of the Jainas. All the biographies contain sermons invaluable for the comprehension of Jainism. The major portion of the volume under review deals with the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*.

An outstanding feature of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* is that, though later than the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, the Jainas have adapted the *Vālmīki* and have created a story, mythology and morals of their own. There are two schools of *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* represented by Vimalasūri and Guṇabhadrasūri; and there are works of each of the schools in Prakrit and Sanskrit and also in the Kannada literature of the south. The Jaina variations teach Jainism and have practically nothing to do with the ideals as set forth by Vālmīki.

An acute critic of Kannada literature admits that these Jaina variations and the following of the same by Kannada poets resulted in writers who cannot equal KAMBAR in Tamil or TULSI DAS in Hindi who are the creations of Bhakti. The *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* however, form an important branch of study in the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

NAYADYUMAṆIḤ by Meghanādārisūri critically edited by Pandits V. Krishnamacharya and T. Viraraghavacharya, *No.* CXLI of the Madras Government Oriental Series, pages clix and 284. Price Rs. 9-12-0.

We congratulate T. Chandrasekharan, Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madars for being instrumental in getting the work included in the series. We equally commend the two editors who have written the English and Sanskrit introduction respectively in 30 and 110 pages.

The author of the work is believed to have lived in the 13th century after Rāmānuja (1017—1137 A.D.) and the present work is an independent treatise on the Viśiṣtādvaita school of Vedānta philosophy. The peculiar characteristic of this school is that Sanskrit works, like the *Pañcarātra* and *Vaikhānasa Āgamas* and the Tamil poems of the Aḷvars, are held authoritative. Another special feature is the fact that philosophy is believed as religion by the general elite and supported as such by the best intellectuals of the school.

The work in 12 sections is in Sanskrit of the ordinary philosophical styles. This is important in tracing the history of Vaiṣṇavism in South India in the 13th century and in noting the differences in the views of its two subschools the Tenkalais and the Vadagalais. For instance, the rank and place of Lakṣmī the consort of Nārāyaṇa has given rise to acute polemic literature.

We recommend the work for the earnest student of the history of Indian Philosophy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY by Professor Jitendra Nath Banerji, pp. xxxvii, and 653 with 48 plates, University of Calcutta, 1956. Price Rs. 30.

This is the revised and enlarged edition of the author who is the Carmichael Professor and head of the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta and this work is published as the University publication. The author is a recognized authority on the subject and this work of the savant (nearly double the size of the first edition of 1941) would for a long time remain as the standard work of reference by students and scholars in all matters relating to the development of Hindu Iconography. It is impossible to do justice in a short review to the matter compressed in this work.

The history and origin and development of the different Brahminical Hindu cults is given in broad outlines; and brief accounts of the different cults is also given so that the groups of images illustrating them in an esoteric manner may be properly understood. The 12 chapters of the work deal with the study of Hindu Iconography, the antiquity of image-worship in India, the origin and development of image-worship in India, Brahminical divinities and their emblems on early Indian coins, Deities and their emblems on early Indian seals, Icono-plastic art in India, Iconographic terminology, Canons of Iconometry, Cult Icons—Vyantara Devatās, Viṣṇu and Sūrya, Śiva and Śakti, Miscellaneous and syncretistic icons. The drawings and plates are all exceptionally well got-up.

The matter dealt with is of the utmost importance to the students of history and culture of ancient India as without it a correct and comprehensive view of the images

of deities actually worshipped by the Hindus could not be obtained. And on this the nature of the religion actually believed and practised by the people at large has to be ascertained.

The work under review would from the basis of all further research and as noticed by the author in his present preface it requires a band of earnest workers in the field to devote their energy and scholarship to the general as well as regional studies of this fascinating branch of Indology in order that many facts of the composite culture of India may be correctly interpreted.

Another special feature in the development of icons is the inter-action of law and philosophy on this branch of study. Śaṅkara, the reputed defender of the Nīrguṇa Brahman combats Śabara the Mīmāṁsā Bhāṣyakāra and offers philosophical and religious proofs for the existence of the Devatā in his *Devatā-adhikaraṇa* of this *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*. Law also develops; and complete juristic personality is recognised in the Idol and all endowments belong to it.

The few extracts printed in the appendices from the Sanskrit works dealing with icons only whet our appetite for the special study of these works.

We warmly recommend this work to all who want to get correct ideas about Hindu Icons.

RĀMABHAKTI MEN RASIKA SAMPRADĀYA by Dr. Bhagawati Prasad Singh, M.A., Ph. D., Principal D. A. V. College, Balrampur, Published by the Awadha Sāhitya Mandir, Balrampur, pp. 25+627. Price Rs. 15/-, 2014 v.s.

Recently studies in Rasas and Bhakti have been taken up by learned individuals and scholars. A heartening feature of these studies is that they are being published in Hindi. We have earlier had a book by Shri Bhuwaneshwar Nath Mishra, "Mādhav" The present work is another

welcome addition to the Hindi literature and is almost unique in as much as it is for the first time that a study has been taken up on these lines.

The book is invaluable in many respects especially because of the scholarly introduction of the greatest living authority on Bhakti Philosophy Mm. Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja who has traced the history of Bhakti-Sādhanā in his introduction.

The book is divided into six chapters and has a detailed contents and two indices. Chapter I deals with the published and unpublished works of *Rasika-Sampradāya*. The second chapter is devoted to the study of Rāmabhakti. In so doing the author has discussed the Rāma Saga in detail and has touched almost all the material available. He has done justice to both the sources—Literary and archaeological. Chapter third deals with the development in the nineteenth century. It also deals with the three centres of Rāma-lore—Ayodhyā, Citrakūṭa and Mithilā. It also has a discussion about Sādhanā including the Pañcasaṁskāra and the Pañcārtha upadeśa. This chapter is the notable contribution of the writer.

The fourth chapter takes into account the traditions and the Sampradāyas of Rāmabhakti still prevalent in India. The fifths chapter deals with the literature on Rasika-Sampradāya. While the author has no doubt drawn upon the printed and unpublished sources, yet it must be said that his description has been confined to Hindi literature especially. The Rāma literature available in other languages has not been dealt with. A large number of sphuṭa songs and poems are available near and about Janakpur in Maithilī and if these are collected and utilised much more information can be had about the Sampradāya. The last chapter is the conclusion.

The author has not attempted anywhere any comparative study of Rasika-Sampradāyas which some would

think was necessary in view of the popular belief that Rāmabhakti is not full of the Rasa element. That this conception existed in medieaval period is known from the following suggestion of Vidyāpati in his little known *Kīrtipatāka*, etc.

"रामेण रामजन्मनि सीताविरहदावानलदग्धमानसेन तत्खेदापनोदाय कृष्णावतारेण गोपकुमारेण...सुन्दरीवृन्दसहस्रसाहित्यसमुपजातकौतुकेन... कदाचित् खण्डितायाः मण्डलानि गृहीत्वा सुमहाभागः खेदितः प्रेरितश्च...।

Anyhow the author deserves our praise for bringing to light certain unpublished works, and the lucid exposition of this Rasabhāvanā in the Rāmabhaktas. I recommend this work to all scholars interested in ancient culture of India and congratulate the author for having written such an interesting and scholarly work on a forgotten section our culture.

THE CALL OF THE JAGADGURU.—Teachings of His Holiness Śrī Jagadguru Chandrasekhara Bharati Swamigal of Śṛṅgerī by R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., B. L. with a foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pages xvi—188. Price Rs. 4. Ganesh & Co. Ltd. Madras 17.

Among the Maṭhas, founded by the Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, Śṛṅgerī, in the Mysore State, occupies an honoured place. Śrī Candraśekhara Bhāratī occupied the *gaddī* of Jagadguru Śaṅkara from 1912 to 1954. He was considered as a saint and often went to Samādhi state. While on his tour in South India he gave valuable addresses in its various languages. They have been collected and arranged by R. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, a devoted disciple and have been translated into English for the benefit of English-knowing readers. Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar states in his foreword that the late Jagadguru was a man both of profound learning and of unsullied and lofty character. He was a

truly evolved Being and an authentic Seer who lived and taught always in sight of his Master.

We recommend the analysis of the teachings in 14 chapters and 63 sections, for the modern student as the best general introduction to Indian philosophy.

At the Sṛṅgerī Maṭha, Śaṅkara's *Viveka-Cūḍāmaṇi* is taught to the lay and sannyāsī disciples both from the point of view of learning the Sanskrit language and imbibing practical Advaita philosophy. The Jagadguru has written an original commentary on the *Viveka-Cūḍāmaṇi* which has just been published in 1958. The review of this work will appear in the next issue of our Journal.

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"I have read this valuable book with great interest and great profit. The documents themselves are very interesting and the notes and commentaries are full of useful information. Some of the texts published are real "human documents" which shed light on the history of Indian civilisation during stirring times. Moreover, they show how Sanskrit continued to have a hold on educated people."—Dr. J. Gouda, Prof. of Sanskrit, State University of Utrecht, Netherlands.

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2. Mimamsa Jurisprudence or the Sources of Hindu Law

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"Mr. A. S. Nataraja Aiyyar's book bears ample evidence of the author's deep learning, extensive knowledge and mastery of the principles of Mimamsa. His exposition of the principles of Mimamsa and their application to Hindu Law and legal texts is quite clear and accurate; and his investigations open a very fruitful and necessary field of research in independent India and they richly deserve recognition."